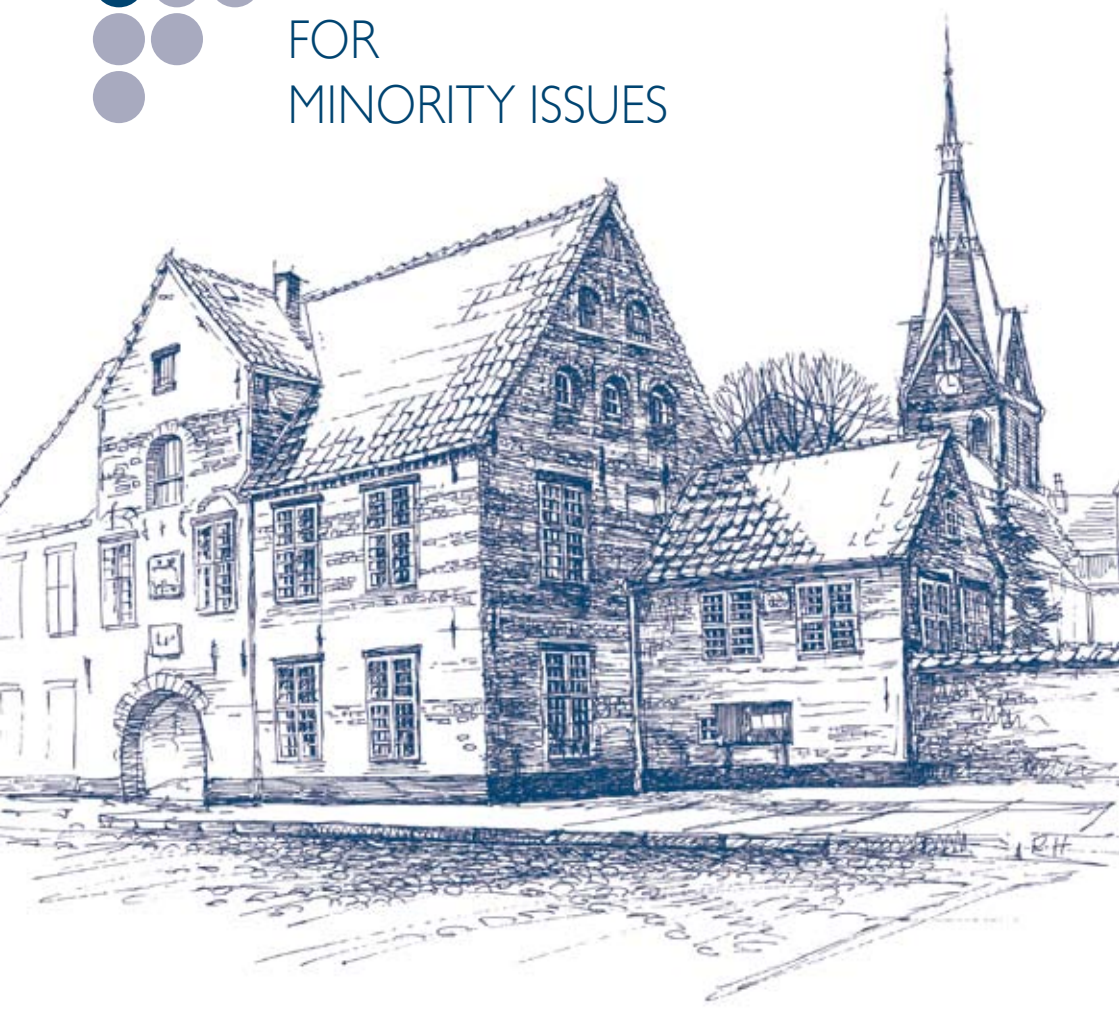




# EUROPEAN CENTRE FOR MINORITY ISSUES



## 2005 Annual Report

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# Table of Contents

<b>PREFACE – CHAIRMAN, AMBASSADOR PETER DYVIG</b>	<b>V</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION – ECMI DIRECTOR MARC WELLER</b>	<b>VII</b>
<b>1. ACTION-ORIENTED PROJECTS</b>	<b>1</b>
I. Integration of Ethnic Minorities through Increased Dialogue and Political Participation in the South Caucasus – Georgia and Armenia	1
II. Post-Conflict Capacity Building in South East Europe – Macedonia, Kosovo, Serbia & Montenegro	8
III. Conflict Transformation in Eastern Europe – Moldova	15
IV. Preparation for EU Accession – Romania and Bulgaria; Minority Ombudsman Project	18
V. Romani Integration in the Balkans	22
<b>2. PRACTICE-ORIENTED RESEARCH</b>	<b>29</b>
I. Georgia - The Use of Minority Languages in the Education System	29
II. Georgia- Repatriation of Deported Meskhetian Turks	30
III. Open Method of Coordination – Aspect of Culture in Social Inclusion	35
IV. Jurisprudence Commentary – Complex Power-Sharing	40
V. National Minority Consultative Councils – Minorities in Public Life	42
VI. Full and Effective Participation of Minorities in Public Life in Accession States	43
VII. ECMI Training and Advisory Functions	44
VIII. Projection of Activities in 2006	45
<b>3. INFORMATION AND DOCUMENTATION</b>	<b>46</b>
I. Library	46
II. Databases	47

4. PUBLICATIONS	49
5. EXTERNAL PUBLICATIONS BY ECMI STAFF	56
6. PRESENTATION OF PAPERS BY ECMI STAFF	59
7. ECMI EVENTS, DELEGATIONS AND VISITORS	63
8. ATTENDANCE OF ECMI STAFF AT CONFERENCES AND EVENTS	68
9. EXTERNAL & INTERNAL RESEARCH MEETINGS	72
10. INTERNSHIPS & NON-RESIDENT RESEARCHERS	73
11. FINANCE & PROJECT FUNDING	75
12. STAFF AND BOARD	78

# PREFACE

*AMBASSADOR PETER DYVIG*  
*OUT-GOING CHAIRMAN OF ECMI BOARD*



In its almost ten years' of existence, the European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI) has continued to advance and to build further on its key mission — majority and minority populations should be equally privileged in experiencing the rewards of life in their respective societies.

ECMI first and foremost facilitates capacity building amongst majority and minority institutions in order to promote majority–minority interaction in line with international standards and best practices. Using three distinct ways: action, research and documentation, this approach has uniquely harnessed the competencies of the Centre's staff and associated experts providing in-depth needs assessments, access to and promotion of relevant knowledge, and the development of skills among stakeholders in the wider Europe.

ECMI's methodological approach to research and project work was further consolidated during 2005, with increased focus on mainstreaming minority issues to enhance dialogue between majority and minority representatives at all levels of public life. Thus, over the course of 2005, a number of reports, working papers and handbooks were published in order to communicate the information and findings to relevant recipients, as well as to the general public.

In order to further advance research and practice on majority–minority relations, ECMI concentrated its efforts on questions relating to the expanding EU with countries such as Romania and Bulgaria and conflict transformation in South East Europe and countries of the former Soviet Union — Moldova, Georgia and Armenia. With a post-conflict situation in Kosovo, special attention in this context was paid to the returns process including Europe's most marginalized group — the Roma.

By promoting legal regulatory mechanisms for inter-ethnic disputes, demonstrating the value of adhering to international standards, ECMI paved the way for defusing ethnic tensions and promoting the value of the participatory approach.

In addition to its research profile, ECMI has continued to be proactive in building and maintaining external (Balkans network, NGO network on promotion of the Council of Europe Framework Convention on National Minorities) and regional networks (co-operation with academic institutions in the border region, the Federal Union of European Nationalities (FUEN), as well as regular meetings with representatives of local and regional minorities). Those activities enhanced, in particular, celebrations of the 50 year anniversary of the Bonn-Copenhagen Declarations, a milestone and a model for peaceful conflict resolution. The Bonn-Copenhagen process demonstrates how a co-existence of majorities and minorities in their respective states can be achieved through political means. In addition, a series of lectures on minority issues were conducted in co-operation with the University of Flensburg to present to the young scholars and students how minority aspects impact wider societies. These activities have greatly contributed to ECMI experience and expertise concerning other institutions working in the field of minority issues.

For ECMI, 2005 has been a very intensive year in many respects, including programme consolidation and completion of a number of projects and increased donor co-operation. Also, at an institutional level, ECMI experienced changes to the Board.

After a period of six years I have decided to bring my Chairmanship of The European Centre for Minority Issues to an end. Not because I have had enough of ECMI, but simply because I find it useful to have a set of new eyes take a look at how best to steer the Centre in the years ahead.

My six years have been a wonderful experience, trying to assist in solving the many minority issues that still exist in Europe and elsewhere.

In my role as Chairman I have had the good luck of a competent, cooperative and positive Board and a driving force in the person of Marc Weller in the Director's seat in developing ECMI into a serious player in the field of research/political institutions and NGOs.

It has not always been without problems in particular because of the difficulty in getting the right people to come to a beautiful but small place with only few academic institutions in the most northern corner of Germany. However, we have succeeded and I am sure it will be possible to continue thus in the future.

I shall miss my regular visits to the magnificent and historic building of Kompagnietor on the waterfront of Flensburg Fjord with its most able and devoted staff.

Thanking all for sharing insights into the important field of minority governance and good cooperation, I wish ECMI all the best in its future endeavours.

# Introduction

*MARC WELLER*  
*ECMI DIRECTOR*



The European Centre for Minority Issues has developed into a rather special institution. The Centre now acts as an advisor in ethnic peace processes in Europe and beyond, it supports governments in meeting international standards in the area of minority rights, and it assists minorities in representing their interests effectively. Increasingly, the Centre also functions as a place of coordination and support through training and capacity building for international organizations, governments and minority representative groups. While mainly funded by governments, the Centre operates entirely independently of state control. In this way, the Centre has been able to act in difficult political contexts with a maximum of credibility, building up the confidence of its partners in its long-term commitment to the impartial improvement of majority-minority relations. This is a unique role in the sensitive area of inter-ethnic relations.

In order to sharpen its profile further, the Centre has continued to emphasize certain areas of core competence. Over the past years, ECMI key competence has concerned the area of post-conflict ethnic stabilization. It has accompanied and supported the transition in the Western Balkans very intensively, and remains heavily engaged in the Caucasus region. As a number of states are now making the transition from peace-building to EU accession, the Centre is continuing to emphasize two key additional areas of interest. The first of these concerns political participation of minorities in public life. ECMI believes this to be a truly foundational issue that flavours inter-ethnic relations in all states to a considerable extent. Where minority communities are involved in public decision-making, they will not feel alienated from the state they live in.

ECMI's second area of interest concerns equal access to economic and social opportunities for minority communities. All too often, economic deprivation is the root cause of ethnic tension in societies. As yet, international standards and experiences in relation to this issue area are rather underdeveloped. ECMI will take a lead in advancing these further.

Over the past year, the Centre has made strides in relation to both of these issues. It is now firmly established as a place of competence in relation to political participation issues, and it has commenced the process of developing its interests concerning the economic and social dimension of minority rights. This is coupled with an increased ability to analyze, support and evaluate governmental programming in these areas. If resources permit, the Centre will also seek to advance into one additional area of core competence over the next years. This concerns the linguistic and cultural dimension of minority identity.

The Centre always ensures that its action-oriented projects are underpinned by a strong research-base. 2005 saw the publication of five significant ECMI books, reflecting that research record. This included the first scholarly commentary on the European Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities—a major work of some 700 pages published by Oxford University Press. The Centre also continued to publish the European Yearbook of Minority Issues, a similarly hefty tome, together with its partner, the European Academy, Bolzano.

The Centre has remained active in the Western Balkans during 2005. Together with the Danish Institute for Human Rights, and led by Dr Florian Bieber, it played a leading role in enhancing the capacities of the Ministry of Human and Minority Rights of Serbia and Montenegro. At the same time, guided by Mr Adrian Zeqiri ECMI was engaged at a high level in supporting minority governance in Kosovo. Under the leadership of Senior Research Associate Eben Friedman, the Centre significantly enhanced its portfolio of Roma-related activities in the region. Tom Trier, formerly ECMI Deputy Director, oversaw the continued and impressive growth of ECMI activities in the Caucasus. All of these activities were guided and supported by ECMI's splendid Deputy Director, Ms Ewa Chylinski.

While there would be many more contributions to be acknowledged, the greatest debt of gratitude is owed to the outgoing Chairman of the ECMI Board. It was Ambassador Peter Dyvig who energized the Centre when he took office in 1999, and who strongly supported it in many a difficult moment. His vision and responsibility for the Centre, his friendship and his calm strength in leadership have been a great inspiration. All at ECMI look forward to his continued association with the Centre.



# 1



## Action-Oriented Projects

These projects continued activities commenced in 2004 and aimed at conflict resolution and post-conflict transformation in particular regions of Europe where ethnic conflicts, weakened and dysfunctional state structures were unable and unprepared to enhance minority governance. Georgia, Kosovo, Serbia & Montenegro and Moldova benefited from ECMI expertise and advice on finding political solutions to build their governmental and civil society capacity in minority inclusion. Yet, the long-standing conflicts will continue to need attention in further post-conflict transformation towards democracy and participatory approaches towards minority citizens.

### I.

#### INTEGRATION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES THROUGH INCREASED DIALOGUE AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE SOUTH CAUCASUS — GEORGIA, AND ARMENIA

The past year has witnessed a drastic increase of ECMI activities in the Caucasus. Through the implementation of three action-oriented projects, ECMI, with a particular focus on Georgia, has aimed at advancing the development of higher standards of governance for national minorities and at engaging minority communities in dialogue on minority protection and regional integration issues with government and parliament. The conduct of these activities in 2005 were made possible through funding generously provided by the Neighbourhood Programme Department of the Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the OSCE Section of the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

## Georgia

Following the break-up of the Soviet Union and independence in 1991, Georgia faced political unrest, ethnic tension and civil war. The regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia became *de facto* independent, although unrecognized by the international community, after bloody conflicts in the early 1990s and these conflicts remain frozen up until today. Over the past 15 years, Georgia has also witnessed tension in the relations between changing Georgian governments and minority groups in other parts of the country. ECMI focuses its attention on two lesser known regions located in the south of the country, namely the predominantly Armenian populated region of *Javakheti* (95% Armenians, but also with groups of Russians, Greeks and Georgians) and *Kvemo Kartli*, where mostly ethnic Azeris reside, along with smaller groups of Georgians, Greeks and Armenians. Although Georgia is home to a wealth of other ethnic groups, including Kurds, Yeshids, Abkhazians, Ossetians, Assyrians, Chechens, Jews, Germans, Dagestani people and others, the regions of Javakheti and Kvemo Kartli are often referred to as potential ethnic tension zones by Georgian and international actors and political analysts. Indeed, the fact that Armenians and Azeri reside compactly in regions where they constitute the majorities has proved challenging in the relations between the state and the minorities. The Georgian government has yet to devise a clear policy on national minority protection and regional integration, despite the fact that about one fifth of the country's population is made up of national minorities with the Azeris and Armenians as the most numerous.

Past governments at best ignored the Javakheti and Kvemo Kartli regions and their non-Georgian populations. However, the rise to power of Mikheil Saakashvili and his team after the November 2003 "Rose Revolution" has given justified reasons for hope that policies on national minorities in Georgia can and will improve over the coming years. With a new government most keenly motivated to further the integration of Georgia into European and Transatlantic structures, there are promising signs that the country also in the field of minority protection is gradually becoming more receptive to voices advocating better standards for governance as means to improve the livelihood of national minorities, prevent future ethno-political tension and enhance political stability in a part of the world that has suffered tremendously by ethnic conflict since the demise of the Soviet Union.

### *Enhancing dialogue and state-minority relations*

In this context, ECMI, since launching its activities shortly after the "Rose Revolution", has worked to enhance dialogue on policy issues affecting the Javakheti region. In 2005, ECMI has also launched a similar process in Kvemo Kartli. In parallel a project to support the Georgian Government and Parliament in devising policy on national minorities based on European best practices was initiated. While the two former projects pay special attention to empower the minority communities in policy dialogue and to capacitate these communities in providing input to the debate based on their communities' needs and concerns,

the latter initiative seeks to build capacity and transfer knowledge on minority governance to stakeholders in government and parliament based on relevant European standards. With the three initiatives closely linked thus creating synergies across the projects, the results of the activities have crystallized into significant results in the past year.

On the government and parliament side, ECMI has been lobbying intensively on enhancing awareness on the necessity of developing consistent structures for governance on regional and minority issues and on taking immediate measures to enhance relations between the central executive bodies and regional authorities and civil society in Javakheti and Kvemo Kartli. To this end, ECMI has liaised with a number of government and parliament structures, including the State Minister for Conflict Resolution Issues, the State Minister for Civic Integration, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Ministry of Justice, the State Security Council, the Public Defender, the Parliamentary Committee for Human Rights and Civil Integration, the Committee for Regional Policy, Self-Governance and Mountainous Regions, the Committee for European Integration, the Committee for Foreign Relations and the Department for National Accord Processes and Civil Integration at the President's Administration. At the regional level, ECMI has also worked with the Offices of the Governors of Samtskhe-Javakheti and Kvemo Kartli, the district prefects in the Javakheti and Kvemo Kartli regions and with the Ministries for Sports and Culture, Finance and Education on specific matters. By seconding a number of national specialists to several regional and national level government bodies, ECMI has provided useful and highly appreciated assistance in making manpower and expertise available to address issues of specific relevance and support policy-making on minority and regional affairs.

Measures promoting regional development and collaboration have been of particular priority in ECMI's strategy to encourage a process of direct consultation between the central authorities and the regional stakeholders. Such efforts have taken place through the organization of a number of events in Georgia's capital Tbilisi as well as in the minority regions, where government officials and parliamentarians, including ministers, their deputies as well as a range of higher and mid-level government representatives, have met regional stakeholders and minority representatives at conferences and consultative meetings. These events have had a significant impact on how minority stakeholders perceive the central governance structures. Having been largely ignored for over a decade, and often portrayed in mass-media as disloyal citizens, minority representatives in Javakheti and Kvemo Kartli have welcomed the new and affirmative attention expressed by central government officials with the increasing frequency of their visits to the regions and their declared willingness to consider the concerns of the regional minority populations. For example, a passport issuing authority has been established in Javakheti's principal town of Akhalkalaki, saving the local inhabitants a 75 km journey twice, respectively for submission and receipt of travel documents. Another matter, which has been addressed through consultations with State Minister Khaindrava, is the provision of coal to Javakheti for heating in the winter 2005-06. However, there are still groups in both regions that look with skepticism on the approach of

the new government. Indeed, the Georgian government has yet to follow up on a range of minority concerns, even matters that both government and minorities can agree upon. Major problems remain to be solved, including issues relating to decentralization and regional self-governance, the soon-to-come closure of a Russian military base in Javakheti and its impact on the employment situation.

### *Engaging local communities*

Complementary to the dialogue process, ECMI has, at the regional level in Javakheti and Kvemo Kartli, also facilitated processes to engage local communities across ethnic lines in networks of regional stakeholders. By means of establishing specialized working groups, regional activists and community leaders have been encouraged to contribute to the identification of specific regional problems and in contributing to finding solutions to these problems. This could be for example in the areas of language and education issues, health, gender equality, youth. The proceedings of the working groups are presented at larger conferences, to which a broader and more representative segment of the regional populations are invited. The conferences, along with public information meetings and seminars, also serve as channels for disseminating information on new laws or policy matters, which may affect the regional populations. Often, the state measures to disseminate relevant information are inadequate, and the ensuing information vacuum usually in itself has a negative effect on minorities' appreciation of state policy.

In the first part of 2005, the above activities in Javakheti — along with the establishment of a Resource Centre in the region's principal town of Akhalkalaki, training events and a limited number of mini-grants to encourage community mobilization — formed the backbone of a loosely organized network for policy debate, information sharing and civil society empowerment. In August, the structure was further institutionalized when an inaugural assembly of the "Javakheti Citizen's Forum" (JCF) was held in the region, where a declaration with the aims and objectives of the JCF was adopted by some 120 stakeholders and a set of organizational statutes approved. The JCF is henceforth managed by a board with facilitation by ECMI and has a chairman and a deputy who work in close contact with the Centre. The institutionalization of the network has proved important, as the Forum now functions as a regionally representative association of NGOs and individuals, and the regional and central authorities consult increasingly with the JCF management on policy issues affecting the region. International organizations also acknowledge the importance of JCF and the network's Chairman now represents the Javakheti region on the civil society consultative board of the road project implemented by the Millennium Challenge Georgia — a USD 295 million. project funded by the USA, which is envisaged to rehabilitate 245 km of main roads in southern Georgia between 2007 and 2010 to the benefit of the geographically isolated population.

Similarly in Kvemo Kartli, ECMI formed initially a loose network of stakeholders. Technically, the project in Kvemo Kartli is more complicated compared with Javakheti. The

Kvemo Kartli region consists of two districts, while the project in Javakheti covers only one. While in Javakheti, the vast majority of the population is Armenian, the Kvemo Kartli region differs with regard to ethnicities from district to district, although Azeris constitute the overall majority. Based on the experience gained in Javakheti, the aim of the initiative in Kvemo Kartli is to move towards an institutionalized “Kvemo Kartli Citizen’s Forum”. To this end stakeholders from the JCF play an active role in the activities in Kvemo Kartli and contribute significantly to the knowledge-transfer.

The enhanced relations that result from the interaction between regional and central actors, are undoubtedly reducing mutual suspicion and engendering a measure of trust between the minorities and the government that help to defuse tension. It appears that an environment is beginning to take shape (especially in Javakheti where the project is at a more advanced stage than in Kvemo Kartli), where a genuine dialogue takes place between the regional representatives and the central government structures. In future, ECMI will pay significant attention to design and implement durable structures that can further institutionalize this process and make efforts in preparing the citizens’ fora to become sustainable associations. To be sure, this remains a time-consuming process, but the successful results in advancing regional policy engagement, dialogue and regular consultation in 2005 certainly give cause for optimism.

#### *Decentralization and self-governance*

Throughout the year, ECMI has also worked closely with parliamentary committees responsible for regional or minority issues, including the Committee for Regional Policy, Self-Governance and Mountainous Regions. The Committee has drafted a new Law on Self-Governance, which was adopted by Parliament in December 2005. In the second part of 2005, ECMI facilitated a number of consultative meetings and information seminars for stakeholders from the minority regions, which allowed the Committee members to disseminate information on the new law and the minority representatives in voicing concerns on the impact of the law. Although the law was adopted without providing adequate time for thorough consultations with civil society in Georgia, the Committee is now planning to prepare an amendment to the law, which will take place following a consultative process with the regions prior to its adoption later in 2006. ECMI will assist the Committee in this process and also facilitate minority communities in presenting their views.

#### *Repatriation of Meskhetian Turks — resettlement of a deported minority*

The repatriation of Meskhetian Turks is one of the yet unfulfilled commitments of Georgia to the Council of Europe and the government is under pressure to take active measures. As a side effect of the research project on Meskhetian Turks (see separate section), ECMI has managed to reinvigorate the discussion on a possible solution to the displacement of this population group deported 61 years ago. A conference was held in June, co-organized with the State Minister for Conflict Resolution Issues & Head of the State Committee

on Repatriation. The presence of an international team of researchers in Georgia having completed extensive fieldwork in the nine countries of settlement of Meskhetian Turks as part of the ECMI research project on Meskhetian Turks, allowed for presentations to the government and a larger audience of representatives for international organizations and NGOs on the preliminary research findings. The conference and a subsequent government briefing resulted in renewed government attention to the issue of repatriation. In seeking to advance the process, ECMI in the second half of the year seconded a specialist on human rights issues as senior advisor to the State Minister for Conflict Resolution Issues. This expert has, among other issues, played a leading role in drafting an action-plan for repatriation of the Meskhetian Turks based on collaborative efforts with relevant ministries and parliament committees represented in the State Committee for Repatriation. The action plan, in contrast to several previous plans, provides the Government's *modus operandi* for repatriation and outlines a clear division of responsibilities and a feasible timeframe for repatriation. It also forms the basis for government measures in the current preparation phase.

Through close cooperation with the State Minister for Conflict Resolution Issues, Mr. Giorgi Khaindrava, ECMI has also facilitated missions to the Northern Caucasus, Central Asia and Azerbaijan, where Meskhetian Turks are settled in large numbers. These missions have allowed the government representatives, including the State Minister himself, to gain further knowledge of the populations and also to engage in active consultations with representatives of Meskhetian Turk organizations, not only in Georgia but also in several other countries of settlement.

As an additional step to advance the process, ECMI in collaboration with the State Commission on Repatriation and the Council of Europe in December established a working group consisting of prominent Georgian legal experts. The expert group, working from December 2005 through January 2006 will complete a draft law on repatriation, to be reviewed by the Council of Europe expert. Following subsequent discussions within the government and hearings in the Parliament, it is hoped that the law can be adopted in 2006. The passing of the law is seen as a milestone event, which will provide a key indication of the extent to which Georgia will commit to begin the repatriation process.

### *Framework Convention on Minorities*

A major event for Georgia's national minorities in 2005 was the ratification by Parliament of the Council of Europe *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* (FCNM). Georgia's government signed the FCNM in 2000 shortly after joining the Council of Europe, but the ratification was delayed for years. It was only in 2005 that Parliament started seriously considering the ratification. To support the process of ratification and to allay fears in government and parliament circles of its implications, a two-day seminar was held in September for MPs and government officials with a leading European expert on the FCNM. Moreover, a public conference on the Framework Convention was held for civil

society to enhance public awareness and bring the ratification issue on to the media agenda. Finally, a training session for minority NGOs was organized. All FCNM-related activities were closely coordinated with the Council of Europe. It caused some concern that Georgia might follow the example of Latvia and ratify the FCNM with declarative statements limiting the implementation of specific provisions. Indeed, when the FCNM subsequently was ratified by Parliament in October, a number of declarations were made. However, when the instrument of ratification was submitted to the Council of Europe in December, no declarations were included. The FCNM enters into force in Georgia on 1 April 2006.

### *State Concept for integration and protection of national minorities*

The Parliamentary Committee for Human Rights and Civil Integration has for some time been preparing a "Concept on the Policy Regarding the Protection and Integration of National Minorities". However, the preparations for ratification of the FCNM reasonably had put the drafting of this document on hold. Following the ratification by Parliament in October, ECMI with the assistance of a legal expert and in consultation with the Committee drew up a set of recommendations, which subsequently were presented to the Committee. The recommendations in particular were aimed at securing correspondence between the Concept, the FCNM and the European Convention for Human Rights. One weakness of the Concept, however, is that it merely interprets the provisions of the FCNM, while bringing the Framework Convention into effect in Georgia is envisaged through the implementation of a number of State Programmes (e.g. on the protection and development of minority languages and cultures; on mass media access; on tolerance promotion and on participation of national minorities in local self-governance arrangements). These programmes are still in the making and, in 2006, ECMI will offer advice on the implementation modalities. In 2006, ECMI plans to follow-up on the implementation of the FCNM in a number of joint activities with the Council of Europe. Events preparing the ground for the anticipated ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages are also being prepared in cooperation with the Council of Europe.

### *Council of National Minorities*

The last major event on minority related issues taking place in 2005 was the inauguration of the Council of National Minorities under the auspices of the Public Defender and with facilitation by ECMI. While ECMI generally encourages the establishment of minority councils as means to create permanent structures for dialogue between minorities and government and with a positive experience from helping such councils into existence in the Balkans, such efforts in Georgia led to concrete results in December. The Council of National Minorities is envisioned to be a key institution for consultations and, from early 2006, a number of specialized working groups will convene to address issues of particular concern to minorities, including language and education, mass media and culture. The working group meetings, conferences and other proceedings of the Council will form a

platform for policy discussions between minority representatives and government and parliament. While there is a tendency in Georgia to “forget” regional stakeholders due to the physical distance from Tbilisi to the often remotely located minority populated regions, ECMI under this activity pays attention to the importance of involving minority representatives from Javakheti and Kvemo Kartli and aims at linking the existing Javakheti Citizens’ Forum and, in the future, the Kvemo Kartli Citizens’ Forum, to the activities of the Council of National Minorities.

In light of the already gained results, the considerable regional experience and the growing acknowledgment of ECMI’s efforts and expertise by government actors and minority groups alike, the Centre is now particularly well positioned to continue its functions with a high impact. As such, ECMI is likely to play an important role in the years to come in enhancing minority-majority relations in Georgia, and most probably also in other parts of the Caucasus.

## Armenia

### *Armenia’s Status Law on National Minorities*

Although ECMI’s activities in the Caucasus in 2005 have paid special attention to Georgia, the Centre has also provided assistance to the Armenian Parliament in reviewing a draft Status Law on National Minorities. In September, ECMI commissioned an external legal advisor to review the draft law and, in November, the same expert paid a visit to the Parliament’s Department for National and Religious Minorities to discuss a set of ECMI recommendations on the draft law’s adherence to international legal instruments on minority protection. The draft law in its current form is based on European best practices and provides rather high standards of protection for national minorities, in spite of the fact that national minorities constitute a mere 2% of the country’s population. It is expected that the law will be adopted by Parliament in Spring 2006.

## II.

### POST-CONFLICT CAPACITY BUILDING IN SOUTHEAST EUROPE: KOSOVO, MACEDONIA, AND SERBIA & MONTENEGRO

#### Minority Issues and Stabilization in the Balkans

In the Balkans region, each country (or province, in the case of Kosovo) has established a legal framework in relation to universal as well as to European commitments to human rights. These frameworks directly impact the status of minority communities and are increasingly important in relations between South East European countries and the European community, particularly in accessing development funds and in membership in European



institutions. Further, the political representation of minorities in public life has become a key factor in ensuring that their needs are heard at all levels of government. Some countries have threshold regulations to establish the access of certain rights such as language in schools and public administration, whilst others have established quota systems or reserved seats for minority representatives in parliament. Political representation allows minority communities to influence the implementation of legal mechanisms for the protection and promotion of their rights.

Minority rights implementation and monitoring mechanisms have become a key aspect of the European integration process for countries in the Balkans. With the onset of the decentralization process in Macedonia, which was one of the key requirements of the Ohrid Framework Agreement (ending the conflict between ethnic Albanians and Macedonians in 2001), Macedonia has been granted formal status as a candidate country for the EU. Since 2001, ECMI has been deeply involved in the stabilization of minority-majority and inter-ethnic relations in both Macedonia and Kosovo. Through its projects at both the government and civil society levels, ECMI has become a welcome and respected organization responding to minority rights and issues. As an expert institution, it is well placed to provide in-depth analysis on the situation of minorities in these regions and a competent advice on the ways forward.

### **Macedonia — conclusion of support to Regional and National NGO Networks**

2005 saw the culmination of four ECMI projects in Kosovo and Macedonia – projects ongoing since 2001. ECMI has been working with government officials and civil society representatives, establishing dialogue within and between these sectors of society on interethnic issues and building confidence between civil society and government in addressing needs and issues of importance to all communities (majorities and minorities) in societies rebuilding after conflict.

The results of ECMI's capacity building efforts have seen a merger of aspects of the projects, and have raised ECMI's profile as an expert institution in addressing minority rights and issues. In Macedonia, the Regional and National NGO Network (funded by the governments of Sweden, Denmark, and Britain) has become a permanent structure at the municipal level, with the formation of three interethnic Regional NGO Coalitions which have drawn upon thematic recommendations developed by ECMI's other project in Macedonia — the Policy Dialogue Initiative (funded by the government of Ireland). Over the course of 2002-2005, ECMI staff and experts have worked to build the capacity of NGOs in Macedonia to a) respond to issues of concern in their communities in a professional and concrete way, and b) promote interethnic cooperation on projects of importance to all ethnic groups in the region. At the start of the project, the capacity of civil society organizations to implement projects was minimal at best, and did not address interethnic cooperation in any sustainable form. Through training, local and international expert advice, and project

grants, ECMI has been able to increase the level of professionalism, capacity and sustainability of NGOs in the country. Further, the working groups, created in 2004 under the Policy Dialogue Initiative, prepared a number of recommendations for government in four thematic areas, areas which are of key importance in the decentralization process. Through information sessions, the recommendations were presented to government by PDI members and, later, with the support of the Regional Coalitions, were presented at the local level to all members of society. Through this synergy, the quality of information used by civil society has improved, the avenues for dissemination of the policy recommendations (on health care, education, economy and human rights) has increased, and the profile of civil society organizations in Macedonia has reached a level where they have become viable project implementation partners and promoters of good governance and interethnic cooperation.

### *ECMI in Kosovo — rebuilding inter-ethnic confidence*

The ECMI projects in Kosovo have also encouraged interethnic cooperation, particularly in the field of legislative development and policy recommendations. Through the implementation of the Civil Society Project 'Standing Technical Working Group' (funded by the governments of Britain, Norway and Denmark) local political and minority representatives, facilitated by ECMI, prepared recommendations for the government in six thematic areas, and enabled a wide range of stakeholders in Kosovo to articulate their demands for concrete legislative and governmental action that is responsive to the genuine and practical needs of all communities in Kosovo. The project generated access for civil society actors to the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government and facilitated the development of improved, home-grown legislation and governmental action plans addressing these needs on the basis of models of best practice of governance. ECMI implemented the "High Level Initiative" between 2003 and 2005, which encompassed two sub-components: the "Accelerated Good Governance Initiative" and the "Prime Minister Initiative". The project provided support to government institutions and resulted in five pieces of legislation of relevance to all communities, three of which have been approved in the assembly while two others are currently awaiting approval. ECMI also provided expert advice to the Prime Minister's Office on areas related to minority rights and issues. As a result of ECMI's involvement with the government to date, the organization has been invited to participate in the Strategy Steering Committee Working Groups for the Ministry of Returns and Community Affairs Strategy for 2005.

Currently ECMI is in the process of supporting the Community Consultative Council (CCC), a mechanism which can articulate clearly the concerns of all of Kosovo's communities through a consultative process with other community members and, more importantly, to express their views and be heard at the highest levels of the PISG. ECMI will facilitate capacity building activities and consultations with representatives of ethnic communities and participants in the CCC. This will be achieved by placing particular emphasis on minority rights protection and good governance.

### *'Communities' in Kosovo*

The relationship between the majority Albanian community of Kosovo and its minority groups is one that has been in the spotlight since 1999. The dynamics of this relationship have been complicated by the intervention of the international community, the uncertain status of the province, and the recurrent ethnic violence resulting from tensions simmering under the surface of the façade of interethnic relations in Kosovo. Further, the violence between the two communities in March 2004 demonstrated that while Kosovo continues to be split along ethnic lines, the disparities between urban and rural areas, in economic development, access to services, freedom of movement, levels and quality of education and tolerance between communities displays a situation unfavourable to all communities. Kosovo is characterized by a political elite which continues to operate on a patron-client basis, parallel structures which perpetuate the segregation between Albanians and Serbs, ongoing since the early 1990s (initially instituted by the Albanians, but since 1999, existing to serve the Serb community), and a society which, although not necessarily in agreement, does not stand in opposition to the small extremist element which threatens to tear the tenuous peace apart.

Amid this continuing interethnic instability, the Kosovo government (Provisional Institutions of Self-Government, or PISG), has been tasked with meeting eight 'standards' prior to the discussions on the issue of the future status of Kosovo. These include functioning democratic institutions, freedom of movement and sustainable returns, rights of communities and property rights, among others. The UN Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), the Council of Europe, the OSCE and the European Union, as well as the wider international community, have spent much of 2005 focusing on the progress made in Kosovo, particularly in light of the collapse of interethnic relations in 2004. What must now be determined is whether what has been legislated is being translated into practice on the ground, and how this impacts the situation of minorities.

There is a general consensus on the approximate percentage of each ethnic community, but given that a reliable census has not been conducted since 1981 (the census undertaken in 1991 was boycotted by the Albanians), inferences have been made by the international community through independent polls since 1999, but refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) remain a controversial issue. The UN and World Bank estimated that the population was between 1.75 and 2.24 million in 1998 — made more unclear during the 1998-99 conflict. Approximately 800,000 Albanians fled to Macedonia, Albania and Montenegro, with potentially another half million internally displaced. Current information also mentions the presence of Bosniaks, Croatians, Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptians as living in Kosovo. It is difficult to establish concrete figures on the Serb minority in Kosovo. Serb returns since 1999 have fluctuated, and many have returned to Kosovo from abroad following the war, but have moved around, or returned but then left again.

It is important to carry out a population and housing census to establish the proper demographic facts needed for the final status negotiations, to be able to fully implement the

decentralization process, and to create electoral districts which reflect the reality of today. Once the appropriate data is collected, including statistics on ethnicity, and also including refugees and displaced persons, the government will have a solid basis from which to develop political and economic development strategies. While it is a politically sensitive issue to highlight economic differences between groups, it will be essential if policy and programme implementation is to be targeted to the communities most in need, in order to bridge the disparities between the majority and minority communities.

For example, access to justice for members of non-majority communities in Kosovo is impeded by tangible barriers arising from lack of security, physical safety, transportation, language, poverty and court fees. It is also obstructed by delays, uncertainty in the law, lack of confidence in the impartiality of the judicial system, physical access to courts, and limited knowledge of legal rights. Equal protection under the law for minorities requires more financial dedication and political will than currently exists.

However, political representation is guaranteed to minority communities, with 20 of the 120 seats in the Assembly reserved for non-Albanian communities. These are apportioned among seven non-majority communities — Serbs, RAE (Rom/Ashkalija/Egyptian), Bosniaks, Turks and Gorani. Minorities are also able to represent their communities within the 100 openly distributed seats. Municipal Assemblies elect the President of the municipality, and in municipalities where one or more non-majority communities live, an additional Deputy President shall be appointed by the Municipal Assembly from these communities. Since 2003, a system of “fair-share” has been in use at the municipal level, whereby a certain percentage (depending on the percentage of the minority population in the municipality) of the municipal budget should be spent directly on the minority communities. Practice up to now has shown that all municipalities generally abide by these rules.

The security situation in Kosovo has improved in all aspects, but physical security continues to rank as a primary concern for Kosovo’s minority communities, particularly Serbs, and translates into self-imposed limits on movement. Minority communities continue to face harassment, intimidation and provocation in varying degrees. Freedom of movement varies widely, both within individual municipalities as well as between different ethnic communities. In some cases there has been an increase in reported security incidents, while in others, both minor and serious incidents go unreported, as the victims do not want to upset the delicate relations they have slowly established with other communities.

The continued security challenges have highlighted the need to prioritize confidence-building and inter-ethnic dialogue in order to create minimum levels of stability before returns take place. In the absence of such dialogue the security conditions and freedom of movement remain problematic — when security issues remain unresolved, then the return movements have little chance of being sustainable. As such, the conditions do not yet exist for large scale return of ethnic minorities in the near future, underscoring the continuing need for international protection for members of ethnic communities.

With the exception of those members of minority communities who live in Pristina, and Serbs living in northern Mitrovica, minorities currently tend to live in rural areas, thus adversely affecting their standard of living compared to the majority Albanian community. This is demonstrated in poverty statistics, with 50.3% of Kosovars living below the poverty line, and 12% living in extreme poverty. This affects all communities, including Albanians, but puts minority communities at a higher risk. Access to employment, particularly in the private sector, is affected by minorities' ability to move freely in public, their linguistic knowledge and overcoming direct and indirect discrimination. Thus, most minorities, in particular Serbs, have returned to rural environments where they feel safe, and survive on subsistence farming, provided they can have access to farmland.

The education system, like the health care system, is characterized by parallel structures: all primary and secondary schools in areas where Serbs are the majority use curriculum, school books and diplomas from the Serbian Ministry of Education. Outside of this segregation, the education system for minorities in Kosovo also faces challenges of a lack of teachers qualified in minority languages, teachers nearing retirement, and physical access to schools. Access to education in one's mother tongue continues to be sporadic throughout the province and, as no central policy directive on this matter has been issued, progress is only made with initiatives at the local level.

The situation of minorities differs between municipalities. In general, communities in the eastern part of Kosovo experience better conditions compared to those in the western regions. The north, which is largely Serb populated, is again different from other regions. Here, the Albanian community faces problems similar to those of other minority communities elsewhere in Kosovo. The standards process, in pursuit of status talks, and in combination with the proposed decentralization process, has contributed to the improvement of the situation of minority communities, as well as to the majority Albanian community in the province.

### **Serbia and Montenegro — Union Ministry for Human and Minority Rights Support Initiative**

In 2005, ECMI has been actively involved in advancing the implementation of international human rights standards in Serbia and Montenegro through its support for the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights. The project saw the development of a draft law catalogue, a basis for a comprehensive human rights reform initiative, the elaboration of a monitoring manual, the basis of answering to the international human rights obligations of the United Nations and the Council of Europe, as well as the process of strategic planning within the ministry. As the project supports a domestic, institutionally driven process, ECMI contributes to the development of human rights capacities within the institutions of Serbia and Montenegro.

The “Union Ministry for Human and Minority Rights Support Initiative” is a collaborative project of ECMI, the Danish Institute for Human Rights (DIHR) and the State Union Ministry of Human and Minority Rights of Serbia and Montenegro with the aim to enhance the capacities of the ministry and to advance the implementation of human rights in Serbia and Montenegro. The project is structured to assist the Ministry in enhancing its effectiveness in accomplishing the tasks assigned to it by the Constitutional Charter and legal framework of the State Union. The project, funded by the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs for a period of 20 months was launched in November 2004 and will end in May 2006.

The project focuses on three components:

1. *Law reform*: developing a structure for a law review process while ensuring the necessary political commitment and adequate working and management principles.
2. *Reporting to international treaty bodies and legislative monitoring*: Developing an effective reporting system and providing training for key personnel in responsible resource ministries and defining an indicator system as a mechanism for timely and effective reporting to international treaty bodies as well as for regular monitoring of the legislative processes based on this indicator system.
3. *Strategic planning*: to be used as a communication and management tool for the Ministry.

The different project components have been established to include key representatives from the different relevant ministries in Serbia and Montenegro or, in the case of the third component, within the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights. These working, project and issue groups are the key bodies in implementing the project, receiving support from a project secretariat within the Ministry and from ECMI and DIHR. These expert groups are the driving force of the project and assist in building a constituency for the implementation of human and minority rights both in Serbia and Montenegro inside existing ministry institutions. The support is delivered in combined and parallel tracks so that institutions can make use of the established structures in separate conditions but in full compliance with international standards.

Currently, the Ministry is responsible, among others, for the collection of data on human and minority rights from other selected ministries, monitoring the human rights situation and securing the implementation of human and minority rights protection based on the Charter and international treaties to which the Union is party. The Ministry therefore plays an important role in the Union’s goal of fulfilling the Copenhagen Criteria. The project therefore seeks to contribute to the EU Accession Process of Serbia and Montenegro. The importance accorded to human and minority rights is reflected in the fact that of only five ministries at the state union level, one is exclusively devoted to this domain. Integration into EU structures has a high priority both for the new Serbian government and the Montenegrin government, as well as for the Union of Serbia and Montenegro. The project components relate directly to the Ministerial mandate and therefore both enhance

the Ministry's fulfillment of their mandate as well as provide the Ministry with capacity in their duties.

### *Reforming legislation, setting up reporting on minority issues*

2005 has been a key year in project implementation. Through regular meetings of different inter-ministerial working groups in the different project components and with the support from the Ministry, DIHR and ECMI staff, the project developed a manual for reporting to the Council of Europe and the United Nations. The manual is not only a new instrument for Serbia and Montenegro, but has attracted interest beyond the country, as systematic approaches to reporting international human rights obligations remain rare. The manual will serve for training ministry officials from key resources ministries in Serbia and Montenegro to both facilitate the reporting process and establish a better understanding of the implementation of human rights.

With regards to law reform, 2005 saw the development of a comprehensive law review process, including a catalogue of all key laws in regard to the main human rights in both Serbia and in Montenegro. This catalogue serves as basis of assessing gaps in the implementation of international human rights standards and developing a law reform strategy in 2006.

Finally, a vision process inside the Ministry was initiated in 2005, with the goal of developing a strategic plan of the ministry to accommodate both the needs of the country in the field of human rights and the constraints and context in which the Ministry operates.

The project will be concluded in mid-2006. Considering the fruitful cooperation between DIHR, the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights, and ECMI, the project could be continued beyond mid-2006 with the goal to transform the project structures into a permanent system which will link key ministries and other bodies in the implementation and monitoring of human and minority rights.

## **III.**

### **CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION IN EASTERN EUROPE — MOLDOVA: TRANS-DNIESTRIA AND GAGAUZIA**

Contributing to the settlement of ethnic conflict and to the process of gradual conflict transformation has been one of ECMI's core competencies. Moldova is a case where a great need remains for an intervention based on ECMI experience in the various aspects of institutional design and complex power-sharing arrangements. ECMI's experience in this area is greatly enhanced by its participation in the Carnegie Project on Complex Power-Sharing and Self-Determination. Utilizing the substantial intellectual and organizational resources available in this Cambridge University based international network allows ECMI to make a substantial contribution to the process of conflict settlement in Transdnistria

and post-conflict transformation in Gagauzia. The project “Supporting Moldova’s Search for a Constitutional Mechanism for Conflict Settlement and Country Reintegration” (September 2004-December 2005) was aimed at enhancing the ability of the Moldovan authorities and the Moldovan expert community to undertake the task of designing a legal and political framework for reintegration of the Transdniestrian region. ECMI would like to thank the German and the Danish Governments for their interest in and support of this initiative as well as to all international and local experts for their engagement in sometimes difficult discussions in the search for appropriate solutions.

### **Transdniestria**

Following the March 2005 parliamentary elections, the Moldovan authorities and international mediators conducted a number of negotiation rounds. This was an attempt to launch a new comprehensive effort aimed at finding a settlement for the Transdniestrian conflict that has been simmering in the eastern part of Moldova since the demise of the Soviet Union. The consensus, in which the Moldovan parliament supported the April 2005 conflict settlement proposal of the Ukrainian president Yushchenko, has created some optimism with regards to the prospects of moving forward and reaching a peaceful and permanent settlement of the Transdniestrian conflict. The Yushchenko Plan reiterates the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Moldova; it proposes that a special legal status be granted to the Transdniestrian region within the Republic of Moldova; it provides for Transdniestria’s right to self determination only in the event that the Republic of Moldova loses its independence and sovereignty; and it proposes the creation of a common space incorporating legal, economic, social, customs and humanitarian issues. Finally, the plan envisages early free and fair elections to the Transdniestrian ‘supreme soviet’ under international monitoring before Moldova recognizes this body as the legitimate representative body of the region.

Progress in talks about conflict settlement, however, has proved to be elusive so far. Part of the problem is the lack of agreement about details of power-sharing arrangements that the Moldovan government is ready to propose to Transdniestria. The lack of clarity on this issue is further exacerbated by the lack of dialogue on principles of conflict settlement on levels other than the level of the official delegations.

Moreover, in December 2005, the Transdniestrian authorities held elections in their regional assembly despite Moldovan and international pressure to postpone these elections. A new regional parliament is now in place which fully endorses the Transdniestrian executive authorities’ policy of not engaging into a constructive dialogue on the issue of internationally monitored elections and other conflict settlement initiatives aimed at country reintegration. The intransigent position of the Transdniestrian elite and its consensus on approaches towards dealing with Chisinau is to a very large extent shaped by the lack of



certainty regarding a special status for the region in a united state. Elaborating provisions about a special status for Transdnistria and providing details about the main institutional features of this status should be of central concern for the negotiating parties.

### Gagauzia

In addition to the Transdnistrian conflict, the Moldovan government faces also a more vocal demands for inclusion and a participatory approach towards the autonomous region of Gagauz-Yeri, the land of the Gagauz, situated in the southern part of the Republic of Moldova.

The Gagauz are a Christian-Orthodox Turk people; they make up 4% of the total population of Moldova, with other small groups living in Ukraine, Romania, Greece and Bulgaria. Their ethnic origin is still subject to debate among the scholars, however, the Gagauz are referred to either as Turkified Orthodox Bulgarians or as descendants of medieval Turks, who have assimilated elements of Slavic culture. The official language is Gagauz, but Russian has remained the chief language of communication, especially for official affairs, due to the high Russification during the Soviet period. The Law on the Special Status of Gagauzia states that the official languages of Gagauzia are Gagauz, Moldovan and Russian. Even so, Romanian-language education was also introduced in 1999, pleasing the Moldavians living in the region.

The Gagauz' struggle for autonomy started in 1990, when the secession of the Gagauz region from Moldova was announced, and an independent Gagauz republic within the USSR was established. Moreover, the Gagauz elites did not endorse the Moldovan declaration of independence in August 1991 and Gagauzia held a referendum for sovereignty on 1 December 1991 confirming its will to remain part of the USSR. During this period the relations between the Moldovan and Gagauz authorities were characterized by tense conflicts.

The issue of the status of the Gagauz region remained unresolved until 1994 due to the intransigence of both sides. The Moldovan parliament started to examine several draft laws on a Gagauz special status in 1993. While these draft laws had been approved by the Gagauz authorities, pro-Romanian elements within the parliament rejected the laws as too liberal and far-reaching. Only after the February 1994 elections in Moldova was any real progress made in finding a solution to the Gagauz issue – due to the victory of the Agrarian Party and the defeat of the pro-Romanian factions. The final agreement was reached in 1995, when the Law on the Special Status of Gagauzia entered into force.

However, the Gagauzian autonomy arrangement continues to face numerous implementation problems. Continuation of conflict over distribution of competencies and legal powers between the national centre and the Gagauzian region threatens to undermine a fragile stability that emerged after the years of confrontation at the beginning of the 1990s.

Clarification of the distribution of competencies and harmonization of the national and regional legislative frameworks will help to alleviate the existing tensions between the centre and Gagauzia.

A proper autonomy arrangement could provide a strong signal to Transdnistrian society about Moldova's willingness to accommodate ethno-political differences. ECMI's involvement also helped the Moldovan officials to realize that there is a wide menu of institutional design options and a substantial flexibility in models that grant autonomy but do not threaten the unity of a state. This involvement advanced the Moldovan authorities' thinking on the meaning and principles of autonomy arrangements and helped them to articulate their vision on how autonomy-based conflicts should be settled.

Thus, ECMI plans to continue its activities in Moldova in 2006 aimed at enhancing the ability of the Moldovan authorities and Moldovan expert community to establish functioning autonomy models for the Transdnistrian and Gagauzian regions of Moldova. By providing support from international experts, by institutionalizing co-operation of local and international experts through the creation of an active local network of legal, political, and civil society experts, and by facilitating dialogue between legislative bodies and civil society organizations from the national centre and the regions a durable and acceptable solution will emerge.

#### IV.

##### PREPARATION FOR EU ACCESSION – ROMANIA AND BULGARIA

##### **Romania: Improving Inter-ethnic Relations through Enhanced Minority Governance 2004-2005. Concluding Workshop – Human Rights Monitoring Cycle and Project Management Training**

The training was the final activity delivered during the implementation. Based on a request by the Romanian Department for Inter-Ethnic Relations (DRI) and several minority groups, the training concluded ECMI's engagement in assisting Romanian authorities and



(left to right) Dr. David J. Smith, University of Glasgow; Prof. John Hiden, Bradford University; D. Christopher Decker, Senior Research Associate, ECMI; András-Levente, MP; Máté, Árpád-Francisc Márton, MP and Leader of the Hungarian Parliamentary Group; Attila Varga, MP; Attila Markó, State-Secretary, Department of Inter-Ethnic Relations.

minority organizations to improve legal frameworks for minority governance. As the laws were heavily debated in the parliament, minority issues have certainly been brought to the forefront in the Romanian society and media.

The training element was originally planned at the request of the DRI, from FCNM training to the training of the DRI Legal Unit. However, this unit was not yet created and therefore the training responded to a need identified at one of the earlier workshops. As the Romanian government and DRI disposes of funds specifically targeting the activities and participation of minorities through soliciting project proposals, the response by local governments as well as minority organisations has been rather limited due to the insufficient knowledge and capacity of both bodies on how to apply for funds and how to monitor human rights/minority rights issues.

The training was divided in two subsequent 2-day sessions for two groups of participants: 1) counsellors of local administrations from municipalities with mixed ethnic groups (12 representatives from 10 municipalities) and 2) participants from minority youth organisations across the country (25 organisations represented).

It included the human rights monitoring cycle; the project cycle management proposal writing, logical frame, fund-raising, reporting, and further such issues.

As the workshop applied interactive methods, the training also aimed at facilitating networking among participants and an opportunity for the opening of a dialogue.

The main instances of the project aiming at bringing Romanian minority legislation to full compliance with international standards as a requirement for Romania EU accession in 2007 were:

1. Discussions with government agencies (including the Deputy PM) and the DRI providing expert advice on cultural autonomy;
2. Law drafting sessions to allow for wider inclusion in developing the law – these included parliamentary committees, minority MPs, minority NGOs and civil society.
3. Workshops and training sessions covering human rights monitoring cycle, and project cycle management including financing.

The large media coverage and public attention to the process was a further positive aspect resulting from the project.

The Romanian authorities and civil society have expressed their satisfaction with the ECMI contribution, and have asked to continue working with ECMI in Romania. Whilst the success of passage of the law in its present form is not guaranteed, ECMI assistance has greatly improved the quality of the draft law.

### **Bulgaria: Enhancing Minority Governance in Bulgaria – Concluding Conference**

The project fostered effective stakeholder involvement in minority areas and raised awareness of the resources needed for improved minority governance, which is essential for the successful integration of the minority populations. It focused attention on the need for

a better understanding of what works, in which contexts, and why. It facilitated a closer examination of the techniques for the initial assessment and concluding evaluation of the consequences of measures in favour of minorities. It provided an assessment of the efficacy of the overall institutional framework for minority governance. It reviewed current policies towards minorities in several sectors, and highlighted some of the practical problems faced in implementing minority programmes.

The analysis brought to light a number of challenging issues which were discussed in a report on Improving Minority Governance in Bulgaria. The report included Good Practice Guidelines. The Guidelines and the report reflected the rich debate in three working groups with representatives of public institutions and minority organizations supported by the project. The information and ideas shared in the report stimulated a dialogue on the improvement of approaches towards effective, efficient and democratic policies toward minorities in Bulgaria. A conference took place in September 2005 for obtaining further input and feedback from a wider group of stakeholders. Following the deliberations of the conference, the final proposals were officially submitted to the relevant Bulgarian institutions.

The project supported the efforts of Bulgaria to achieve genuine improvements in minority governance and long term sustainability of related programmes and reforms in public administration, and to promote harmonious inter-ethnic relations in advance of accession to the EU.

The final report and the Good Practice Guidelines were provided to the participants in the final conference, as well as to additional number of organizations and institutions at national and regional levels concerned with minority issues. They are also available on ECMI Bulgaria's website ([www.ecmi-bulgaria.org](http://www.ecmi-bulgaria.org)). The strong interest in the concluding conference on 27 September on "Enhancing Minority Governance in Bulgaria" and the high level of participation indicate that the information and ideas shared throughout the project have stimulated a real dialogue on the improvement of approaches towards effective, efficient and democratic policies toward minorities in Bulgaria.

The dialogue among a wide group of stakeholders on these issues have created a sense of "local ownership" of the Good Practice Guidelines which is key to building improved awareness of minority issues. Throughout the project, information was regularly provided to the media. ECMI Director Marc Weller, and ECMI Bulgaria Director Magdalena Kouneva participated in the morning block of Bulgarian national TV. Information about the project activities was published in the national newspapers 24 Chasa, Standard, Monitor, and Trud, and in the newspapers Akana, Drom dromender, Amalipe, and Kaynak.

## **Network of Specialized Ombudspersons on Minorities in Europe**

### *Conclusion of the project, December 2005*

The Ombudsman network initiative was established by ECMI in 2003 with an emphasis on providing its beneficiaries with the skills and knowledge necessary to allow them to

include minority issues in their daily work and information-sharing on those issues. The institutions represented were all relatively 'young' compared with ombudsman institutions in Western Europe, or were currently going through the process of creating their mandates. For example, in Macedonia, through a law amendment in 2003, the Ombudsman was given new authority to deal with issues of discrimination and the representation of communities. As governments must ensure improvement of the overall human rights and in particular minority rights, a politically and financially independent Ombudsman institution with a comprehensive mandate and full set of functions is one of the tools.

Two major networks were established: Caucasus (workshop, Tbilisi, September 2004); South Eastern Europe (2 workshops in Oct. 2004 and in Sept. 2005).

The network established in SEE proved its sustainability by organizing regular workshops (Macedonia, Ohrid/October 2004, Vojvodina, October 2005) for staff of the Ombudsperson institutions from the region (Macedonia, Albania, Serbia & Montenegro (Montenegro, Vojvodina), Kosovo and Bosnia & Herzegovina).

The final phase of the ECMI Network project consisted of further training for Ombudsman institutions in South East Europe in September 2005 due to intensive processes of conflict transformation (Kosovo, Serbia & Montenegro) and on-going negotiations on EU accession (Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia). The Office of the Ombudsman in the region of Southeast Europe is of vital importance to ensure that minority rights are protected and minority rights standards are upheld in the post conflict societies of the Balkans.

The location chosen was Sofia, Bulgaria in light of the election of the first Bulgarian Ombudsman in 2005 in order to ensure exposure of this institution and its mandate to the Bulgarian public.

The last training workshop for the SEE network in September 2005, created an exceptional opportunity for the staff of the very young Bulgarian Ombudsman institution to exchange its initial working experiences with the Ombudspersons in transition countries. The workshop facilitated the establishment of contacts with colleagues in neighbouring states and to share concerns similar in all of these countries.

The Ombudsman Law had been discussed in Bulgaria for almost 6 years and finally adopted and entered into force in May 2005. Simultaneously an Anti-Discrimination Commission was established. Still, an internal set of rules has to be prepared to regulate the activity of the Ombudsman institution to become operational, and in particular to fill gaps that have not been addressed by the law. Therefore ECMI supported a publication in the Bulgarian language "Bulgarian Ombudsman — Guide to Best Practices and National Legislation".

In general, the Network project has fostered greater understanding of the comprehensive mandate of the Ombudsman institution in relation to minorities by all beneficiaries: government officials, minority representatives, civil society at large and other organizations.

## V.

### ROMANI INTEGRATION IN THE BALKANS

#### ECMI's Romani Integration Programme

With an eye to helping Roms ('Gypsies')<sup>1</sup> to break out of the complex marginalization which tends to characterize their existence in the present day, ECMI's activities with Romani populations in Europe aim at equipping Roms with the resources needed for playing an effective role in a democratic society based on the rule of law as well as for participating successfully in a competitive labour market. Emphasizing intensive consultation with local stakeholders, ECMI's activities with Roms are designed to address not only the situation of the Romani population as a whole, but also the position of Romani women relative both to Romani men and to the non-Romani population. As is true of all ECMI initiatives, those carried out as part of the Romani Integration Programme build on a strong research base in generating concrete measures to address pressing issues. The activities undertaken to date within the Romani Integration Programme have been made possible by the generous support of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida).

#### *Roms in Europe*

Since their arrival in Europe roughly one thousand years ago, Roms have almost always (if not always) lived worse off than the surrounding non-Romani population. Notwithstanding considerable variation in the degree to which Roms are integrated in the individual states of Central and Eastern Europe, Roms' overall situation throughout the region suggests broad continuity with their past. Moreover, even in the cases of best practice with regard to Roms in the region, it must be kept in mind that Roms invariably constitute the most disadvantaged ethnic group in countries that remain relatively disadvantaged themselves.

The Second World War brought a significant reduction in the size of the European Romani population in those countries which adopted extermination policies, as well as major population shifts as many Roms fled these countries for more lenient ones. Under Communism, on the other hand, most states in the region officially denied the existence of *Romani* ethnicity while counting *Gypsies* as members of a backward social group according to criteria specified by high-ranking bureaucrats. Consequently, official figures on the Gypsy population were usually produced on the basis of ascription by state officials, rather than from the declarations of those being counted.

Today, estimates of the number of Roms in post-Communist Europe vary widely. In light of the stigma associated with classification as a Gypsy since well before the Communist period, the collapse of Communism has in many cases led to a steep drop in the number of persons declaring Romani nationality relative to the number of persons classified as

<sup>1</sup> Whereas 'Rom' is neutral, 'Gypsy' often has a pejorative connotation. For this reason, the latter term is used only in presenting policies and statements the declared targets of which are "Gypsies".



Scrap collection SR (2004): For some Roms, scraps constitute a chief form of income (Belgrade, fall 2004).

Gypsies under the previous regime. A result of underestimation of the size of the Romani population is overestimation on indicators such as birth rates, fertility, family size, and criminality among Roms.

Throughout the region, Roms have the lowest rates of school attendance and the highest dropout rates, resulting in extremely low levels of educational attainment. The low levels of educational attainment among Roms in turn form vicious circles with incomplete enjoyment of civil rights on the one hand and with high unemployment on the other: whereas in the former case lack of knowledge about civil rights contributes to suspicion of ongoing violations of those rights and the perception that Roms are powerless to do anything about such violations such that becoming informed is futile, in the latter case the lack of occupational qualifications resulting from a low level of educational attainment makes for unemployment and thus to material conditions not conducive to the completion of education.

### *Toward social-economic inclusion*

In the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the last ten years have seen a proliferation of government strategies for the ostensible purpose of integrating the countries' respective Romani populations. Spurred by the prospect of EU accession and the Decade of Roma Inclusion, the strategies have generally suffered from a lack of Romani involvement in their design, as well as in their implementation to date. As a result, much of the programming designed for Roms exists only formally, with some of the authorities responsible for realizing it unaware of its existence. In other cases, obstructionism on the part of relevant authorities has been observed.

If governments in the region have often been insufficiently informed about the real needs of the Romani populations living under them, international donors interested in improving the situation of Roms have run into similar obstacles, with the absence in many countries of

a global view of the Romani population's living conditions making it difficult to channel donor activity in the most appropriate manner. Compounding the effects of the lack of general guidelines, coordination among donors has often been lacking, leading to duplication of efforts in some areas and neglect of others. Moreover, implemented projects have in many cases been designed by NGOs with tenuous connections to their target group and which propose projects only in response to donor interest. Finally, the role of Roms in directing donor support has been minimal, with Romani project officers a rarity.

Addressing the problems faced by Romani populations throughout the region as well as those faced by governments and international donors alike in focusing their efforts requires an increase in the quantity and quality of information about Roms. While the gathering of quality information constitutes a necessary prelude to designing programmes to address Roms' concrete needs, however, the "bare facts" rarely speak for themselves, and access to statistical data on Roms is often problematic. For this reason, attaining a global picture of the needs of Romani populations in Central and Eastern Europe requires that analyses of available statistical data be supplemented with intensive consultation with local activists and stakeholders.

### *Methodology*

Taking the foregoing into account, ECMI conducted the first global assessment of the needs of the Romani population of Macedonia in fall 2003. Preliminary background research for a similar project in Serbia and Montenegro was completed in winter 2004, with



REGRI 4th joint meeting (Sep 2005)

project implementation proceeding in fall of the same year on the basis of the needs assessment methodology employed in Macedonia. Involving Roms as sources not only of raw data but also of ideas and as integral members of the respective research teams, ECMI's needs assessments have also formed the basis for action-oriented follow-on initiatives in which Roms play an active role in programme development, as well as for improved coordination among government,

domestic NGOs, and international donors. Additional information on ECMI's activities with Roms, including downloadable research reports, can be accessed at [www.ecmirom.org](http://www.ecmirom.org).

### *Research: needs assessment*

Combining quantitative and qualitative research methods, ECMI's needs assessment methodology is unusual in the degree to which it actively involves Roms at all stages of project design and implementation. While the assessments begin by procuring the most



recent domestic and international statistical data available on the situation of the Romani population in the country in question, these data are treated primarily as a starting point for discussions with non-elite as well as elite populations, rather than as painting an accurate picture (or even a fair sketch) of the existing state of affairs.

In addition to the more standard individual interview format, the discussion component of the needs assessments makes extensive use of focus groups for identifying Roms' most pressing needs and exploring ways in which the identified needs can be met. Beyond the rich qualitative data they generate, focus groups offer two significant advantages over other research methodologies for identifying the needs of marginalized populations:

- *Intelligibility for participants*, who need not have a background in research to know how to participate in a constructive dialogue; and
- *Peer-group security*, which effectively reduces the effects of power differentials between participants and researchers, encouraging participants to express themselves freely.

In this manner, focus groups provide a crucial building block for the design of appropriate policy based on Roms' real needs.

Categories of information included in ECMI's needs assessments with Romani populations in Central and Eastern Europe include the following:

- Size of the Romani population according to available census data and informed estimates (including refugees and internally displaced persons where applicable);
- Social demographics and statistics for measuring exclusion, including but not necessarily limited to the areas of civil rights, education, employment, health, and housing;
- Legal framework and relevant state policies, with particular emphasis on government strategies for the integration of Roms;
- Political representation including elected state-, regional-, and local-level elected and appointed bodies;
- Romani political parties and organizations;
- Romani civil society organizations and media; and
- Relevant activities of international organizations.

Insofar as the issues identified in the needs assessments undertaken to date in Macedonia and in Serbia and Montenegro are broadly applicable to other countries in the region, similar assessments could be conducted elsewhere, with follow-on activities designed accordingly. Additional candidates for inclusion in a regional initiative designed to increase Romani integration into the societies in which they live might include Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The implementation of a similar initiative in Kosovo, on the other hand, would first require that Roms' concerns with personal security related to freedoms of movement and assembly be addressed in such a way that a gathering of 10-15 participants in a public place with the recording equipment required for the focus groups would not risk placing the participants in danger.

### *Action: following on needs assessments*

Whereas ECMI's modular approach to needs assessment allows the methodology to be modified and applied in work with Romani populations throughout Central and Eastern Europe, the same cannot be said of the initiatives designed on the basis of the needs assessments. Because the findings of the needs assessments vary by country, follow-on initiatives must duly take into account relevant national variations in the situation of Roms. Even in the absence of a unified approach to addressing identified needs, however, three common methodological elements run through ECMI's action-oriented projects with Roms under this heading:

1. *Facilitated dialogue*, drawing on ECMI's considerable experience throughout the region as an advisor and a facilitator on minority issues;
2. *Capacity-building*, embodied primarily in training sessions designed in close consultation with relevant stakeholders; and
3. *Peer learning*, including regular networking on the domestic level as well as regional-level exchange visits.

In bringing together these three elements, ECMI's action-oriented projects under the heading of social-economic inclusion share a point of contact with ECMI's action-oriented projects for greater participation, helping Roms to set their own priorities and build coalitions while empowering Roms to take a more active role in contributing to the design and implementation of Romani-specific programming.

### *Projects in implementation — Macedonia and Serbia & Montenegro*

As follow-on initiatives designed on the basis of ECMI's needs assessments with Roms in Macedonia and in Serbia and Montenegro, the projects described below demonstrate the tight link between the Centre's practice-oriented research and its action-oriented projects.

#### **Macedonia: Romani Expert Groups**

Although improvement in Roms' administrative status since 1989 and the absence of policies drafted for the purpose of excluding Roms are useful in distinguishing Macedonia from numerous other post-Communist countries, the post-Communist period has been marked by a continuation of the overall practice of neglect characteristic of the Yugoslav regime. This neglect leaves a considerable vacuum to be filled by actors outside government, with the absence until late 2004 of a government strategy and expertise (let alone an office) aimed at improving the lot of what remains the most disadvantaged population in one of the poorest countries of a disadvantaged region pointing to tremendous room for improvement not only in Macedonia, but also further afield. Additionally, efforts to date by international actors in Macedonia have been sporadic, and no global needs assessment had been performed prior to the one commissioned and financed by Sida in June 2003.

The findings of the needs assessment demonstrate the centrality of education in accounting for Roms' comparative disadvantage in the domains of health, civil rights, and employment, with Roms' low level of educational attainment explicable in terms of language barriers, material conditions, family dynamics, and ethnic isolation. Whereas the disadvantage of Romani women relative to Romani men in education is to be attributed primarily to marriage of girls before completion of primary school, Romani women's comparative disadvantage in the other three core areas is largely explicable in terms of differences in level of educational attainment.

The most sustainable initiatives are those which involve local stakeholders at all stages of design and implementation. For this reason, in fall 2004 this follow-on to the needs assessment established all-Romani Expert Groups in the four core areas covered by the needs assessment. Through their work, it expected that the Expert Groups will encourage an expertise-based division of labour among Romani NGOs by contributing to the professionalism of Roms currently active in the indicated four core areas.

As a prelude to the design and implementation of concrete policy measures to remedy Roms' comparative disadvantage, the Expert Groups also played an important role in contributing to the revision of the government's "Draft Strategy for Roma in the Republic of Macedonia" in late 2004. The first project year culminated in September 2005 with the public presentation of the volume containing the six research reports generated by the Expert Groups from the projects which they designed and implemented with ECMI facilitation. This volume is available for download at [www.ecmirom.org](http://www.ecmirom.org).

Taken in combination with the frequency with which members of the Expert Groups are consulted on contemporary developments affecting Roms, the project's role to date in improving coordination among relevant internationally funded initiatives, bettering relations between the Macedonian government and Romani NGOs, and increasing the level of competence of relevant government and non-government actors suggest that the Expert Groups are firmly on course to becoming free-standing points of reference for organizations and individuals seeking consultation on the Romani population of Macedonia. Now well into their second year, the Expert Groups have commenced work on a strategy for self-sustainability.

### **Serbia and Montenegro: Supporting Local Romani Coordinators**

Treatment of Roms in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was relatively progressive, with the situation of the Romani population in what is now the Union of Serbia and Montenegro stagnating from the latter part of the 1980s until late 2000. In Kosovo, on the other hand, the situation for Roms deteriorated dramatically in 1999, such that the majority of Roms from Kosovo today live outside the province. Although conditions in Kosovo have arguably not changed sufficiently since 1999 to make possible a sustainable return of the Romani population, the last several years have seen significant advancements within Serbia

and Montenegro in both the field of research and that of policy. Particularly noteworthy in this regard are the Union-level Law on Protection of the Rights and Freedoms of National Minorities and Serbia's Draft Strategy for the Integration and Empowerment of the Roma, as well as the Serbian and Montenegrin Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers.

Significant though they are, the advancements of the last several years can only be considered an initial step in the right direction, with the Draft Strategy itself calling for additional assessment studies. Conducting such a study in late 2004, ECMI generated a set of guidelines for Sida's work with Roms in Serbia and Montenegro. Among ECMI's recommendations was to increase and improve contacts between Romani communities and local authorities.

In light of the broad-based disadvantage of the Romani population as a whole and of the tendency for disadvantaged Roms to be less ashamed of differences in education and economic status in dealing with other Roms than in their encounters with non-Roms, increasing the presence of Roms at the level of local government shows considerable promise for improving relations between Romani communities and local authorities, as well as local organs of state agencies. Although the Law on Local Self-Government of the Republic of Serbia provides for the establishment of a Council for Interethnic Relations in ethnically mixed municipalities, prior to the recent establishment of coordinators for Romani issues in twelve municipalities through a cooperative initiative of the Ministry of Human and Minority Rights and the European Agency for Reconstruction, only the municipality of Leskovac (Southern Serbia) had appointed such a coordinator.

While the demand for aid from the thirteen Romani coordinators established to date demonstrates the potential for the coordinators to serve the corresponding local Romani communities, the continued existence of these positions depends in large part on the coordinators' ability to generate the concrete results necessary to gain support from the state budget in future. The achievement of these results in turn requires increased capacity on the part of not only the local Romani coordinators, but also the local government officials in charge of the various sectors within which Roms' complex and multi-faceted marginalization manifests itself. This project therefore seeks to increase and improve contacts between Romani communities and local authorities through capacity-building measures aimed at local Romani coordinators and their relevant (non-Romani) counterparts in local government.

#### **ONGOING PROJECTS**

- Romani Expert Groups for Romani Integration (Macedonia)
- Supporting Local Romani Coordinators in Serbia and Montenegro

#### **CONCLUDED PROJECTS IN 2005**

- Toward Regional Guidelines for the Integration of Roms: Macedonia Needs Assessment
- Toward Regional Guidelines for the Integration of Roms: Serbia and Montenegro Integrated Analysis

# 2



## Practice-Oriented Research

### I.

#### THE USE OF MINORITY LANGUAGES IN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN GEORGIA

A smaller practice-oriented research conducted by ECMI in Georgia has focused on studying the conditions for usage of minority languages in regions of Georgia in the context of best practices in Europe and on providing models for minority language usage, which can be useful in the Georgian context.

A new law on higher education was passed in Georgia in 2005. While Armenians, Azeris and other minorities before the introduction of the new law were permitted to enter institutions of higher learning situated in minority areas without knowledge of the Georgian language, the passing of a Georgian language test is now a requirement for entering university. While this new provision is meant to enhance regional integration and promotes the usage of the Georgian state language, the law in effect seems to exclude minority youth in Javakheti from higher education in Georgian institutions. This development may exacerbate an already significant out-migration trend from a poverty stricken minority-populated region, as youngsters seek access to higher education in Armenia or Russia. To further the understanding of the impact of the new law and seek solutions to the issue, research has been conducted which offers examples from Romania and Macedonia of how bilingual education can function as a tool for regional integration.

Another study focuses on the potential for and effects of introducing minority languages as second administrative languages in regions where national minorities are settled in large numbers. This research provides examples from Romania and Croatia, where special provisions are made to accommodate the special language needs of minority populations. Both studies will be made available in Georgian, Russian and English and form a basis for policy discussions with relevant stakeholders in 2006.

Finally, ECMI has conducted research on resettlement of ecological migrants from the Georgian regions of Svaneti and Adjara, affected by natural disaster in the 1980s and 1990s, to the minority regions of Kvemo Kartli and Javakheti. The research, which continues in 2006, will lead to the publication of a working paper which discusses the history of the resettlement process (1987-present), provide data on the resettled population and analyze the impact of the resettlement on inter-ethnic relations in the recipient communities.

## II.

### “BETWEEN INTEGRATION AND RESETTLEMENT: THE MESKHETIAN TURKS”

The research project “Between Integration and Resettlement: the Meskhetian Turks” conducted by ECMI with generous support by the Volkswagen Foundation is now drawing to a close. Its main goal was to assist the Government of Georgia in fulfilling its commitment to offer a legal framework and implementation strategies on repatriation of Meskhetian Turks to Georgia.

The findings of the project as well as its legal and implementation elements may create a model for restituting rights of other deported peoples in the former Soviet Union or forced emigration in other countries (e.g. Turks in Bulgaria).

From mid-2004, an inter-disciplinary and international team of prominent researchers with expertise in the field of forced migration and a profound knowledge of issues related to the Meskhetian Turks have been conducting research in nine countries where this population is settled.

The Meskhetian Turks were forcibly and collectively deported from Georgia to Central Asia in 1944. Unlike other peoples displaced during Stalin's reign, Meskhetian Turks have for long been forsaken by policy-makers and scholars alike. Up until the end of the 1990s, the international community largely neglected the plight of this people. The paucity of scholarship has also contributed to the confinement of Meskhetian Turks to the margins of an otherwise fairly intensive debate over the fate of different ethnic and national groups in the post-Soviet space. The few existing studies addressing problems of Meskhetian Turks have lacked a comparative perspective and have tended to depict Meskhetian Turks as a homogeneous group, whose first and foremost intention is to return to Meskhetia in southern Georgia, the region from which they were originally deported. Moreover, the voices of the Meskhetian Turks themselves have been notoriously missing in most of these accounts.

The major thrust of the ECMI research project has been to fill in the gap in scholarship on Meskhetian Turks, thereby drawing the attention of the international community to their problems and making the facts and knowledge available for international organizations and practitioners in devising durable solutions for this population group. It has endeavored to provide a comprehensive insight about the lives, livelihood and views of Meskhetian Turks. Among other issues, the research covers the following aspects, which are essential

for an understanding of Meskhetian Turk communities: the history of their settlement; the functional integration of Meskhetian Turk communities into their host societies; the role of their leadership and elite; identity and networks; and the Meskhetian Turks' concepts of home and homeland. Throughout the research, ECMI has ensured that the voices of the Meskhetian Turks' themselves are adequately represented.

Knowledge and information generated throughout this project are likely to become a significant asset for governmental and non-governmental actors committed to finding solutions to the problems of the Meskhetian Turks. A thorough analysis of peoples' responses to displacement, their own strategies and survival mechanisms is envisaged to challenge the dominant discourse based on homogenization and generalization. By presenting a comparative perspective, the research emphasizes difference and diversity of Meskhetian Turk communities in the various countries where they live.

### *The research process*

The project methodology has embraced a number of qualitative methods, including in-depth, open-ended interviews, expert interviews and ethnographic participant observation.

Meskhetian Turks currently reside compactly in nine countries: Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Russia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Turkey and the USA. Within the framework of the research project, eighteen long-term studies have been carried out in different regions of these countries. Each long-term study lasted for six weeks. During this period researchers lived continuously with one or more Meskhetian Turk host families. Each study included at least twenty in-depth interviews with Meskhetian Turk informants; 3-5 interviews with members of the host population; and several interviews with local officials and with formal or informal leaders. Participant observation also allowed the fieldworkers to observe the day-to-day life of the communities under research and engage in their activities. All field studies have now been completed.

There are several factors impacting on the course of research as well as empirical findings and analytical points that are worth a closer presentation here. Not surprisingly, given the rather turbulent situation in some countries of research, some fieldworkers encountered serious obstacles during their fieldwork. For instance, the fieldwork in Kyrgyzstan was temporarily interrupted due to the "Tulip Revolution" in March 2005. The fieldwork resumed in mid April after the Meskhetian Turk communities realized that further engagement in the research process would not pose a threat to their community.

The fieldwork in Uzbekistan was very difficult from the very outset. Memories of pogroms that took place in 1989 in Fergana Valley as well as the increasingly authoritarian nature of the Karimov regime compel Meskhetian Turk communities to keep a low profile. The researchers, therefore, faced major problems with access to the field. From early on, it became obvious that local law enforcement agencies kept a close eye on the researchers throughout their fieldwork, although they did not directly prevent the conduct of the field-

works. Similar problems impeded research in some regions of Russia. However, notwithstanding all the obstacles and problems, the researchers managed to establish contact with Meskhetian Turks and fieldworks was conducted in all countries as planned.

Follow-up and short-term studies complemented the findings of the long-term studies. Follow-up studies were conducted in the same locations as long-term studies, whereas short-term studies sought to explore communities in the regions not covered by long-term studies. The short-term studies were conducted to ensure that the research covered a wider range of communities and thus providing an adequate picture of the communities in each country. For example in Azerbaijan, the Meskhetian Turks are settled in 19 regions and in several other countries, the communities are also numerous and scattered throughout vast territories. In total, 23 short-term studies and follow-up studies were conducted.

As part of the project, a number of scholars were also commissioned to write thematic and legal studies chapters. Two legal studies chapters focus on legislation and legal practices pertaining to Meskhetian Turks in Russia and Georgia respectively. Thematic chapters cover topics such as the role of international organizations; the Meskhetian Turks' elite and leadership; and a comparison of identity formation and concepts of 'home' and 'homeland' among Meskhetian Turks and Crimean Tatars.

### *A few research highlights*

Although the study was not intended to gain accurate statistics on the numbers of Meskhetian Turks worldwide, the researchers did their best to obtain fairly reliable figures. Estimations indicate that the total number of Meskhetian Turks ranges between 400,000 and 450,000, which is higher than suggested by other studies. However, it should be noted that it is hardly possible to determine the precise number of Meskhetian Turks as many of them were registered as Azeri or Uzbeks. Moreover, in some countries the authorities appeared reluctant to reveal information on the national minorities populating these countries, while figures provided by Meskhetian Turk organizations are often inflated.

The research has confirmed the assumption that Meskhetian Turks do not constitute a homogeneous group and that their conditions considerably differ from country to country. The degree of integration of Meskhetian Turks in different countries is contingent on many factors, including the history of their settlement in a particular country, the location of Meskhetian Turk communities, the number of Meskhetian Turks and, of course, the economic, social and political situation in the host societies. In short, some countries conduct more favorable policies toward national minorities in general and Meskhetian Turks in particular, whereas others are, to put it mildly, less tolerant to 'guests'. In terms of functional integration, in some countries Meskhetian Turks have integrated with relative success. In Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Ukraine, and to some extent, Azerbaijan, Meskhetian Turks are relatively well integrated, hold citizenship and are, generally, treated on an equal footing with natives. Cultural and religious similarities also make for better integration into these countries. In Uzbekistan, however, the trauma inflicted by the Fergana Valley events in



1989 has not yet fully healed. Meskhetian Turks were disposed to be wary after what had happened to them: many of them are registered as Uzbeks and prefer to keep a low profile, blending in to the Uzbek society.

However, there are common obstacles hindering the cultural and societal integration of Meskhetian Turks into their adopted societies. First, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, most former Soviet republics embarked on nation-building projects that were often accompanied by nationalist policies and rhetoric blaming minorities for numerous difficulties faced in the early days of independence. These policies generated fear among the Meskhetian Turks — particularly in Central Asia — and led to their relative marginalization and self-isolation. Second, a large number of Meskhetian Turks moved to Ukraine and Russia shortly before the demise of the Soviet Union or were evacuated after the Fergana Valley pogroms. The short history of their settlement in these regions is often mentioned as an obstacle to their integration into these countries. Moreover, it made them most vulnerable to attacks by nationalists, as they were often perceived and portrayed as a 'last gift' of the crumbling empire. Third, the dire extent of economic conditions in most of these countries has not allowed for the successful and swift economic integration of the Meskhetian Turks. On the other hand, in some countries, particularly Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan, Meskhetian Turks are often better off compared with the natives. This further antagonizes the local population. Fourth, due to a lack of funds and goodwill, most countries have not formulated coherent policies to encourage the integration of the Meskhetian Turks. Finally, as Meskhetian Turks tend to live in rather confined and closed communities, maintaining their own rites and, often in contrast to their neighbors, working hard and live modestly, they have, to a certain extent, wittingly or unwittingly alienated themselves from the rest of the population. This hampers their cultural and societal integration. Due to these factors, compounded with the collective history of two deportations, even in the most favorable and minority-friendly countries, like Kazakhstan and Ukraine, they often concede that they still live in constant fear – as they put it, on a powder keg – of being displaced again. Quite a few of them perceive their presence in these countries as temporary. This is particularly the case in Krasnodai Krai (South Russia), which stands out as a region where continuous and persistent discrimination and violation of basic human rights take place. In this region many Meskhetian Turks are basically denied a legal status and consequently access to education, health care and legal employment.

At the same time a degree of functional and cultural integration does not necessarily correlate with Meskhetian Turks views on prospective repatriation or migration to other countries. Some Meskhetian Turks are well integrated into the local environment and enjoy support from local bureaucracy for the protection of their own businesses, and at the moment are not planning to go anywhere. Many of them are at a crossroads. Since one of the main conditions of migration for them is security guarantees and organized resettlement programs, the direction of their migration depends on who is offering such programs. Not so long ago, the majority assumed that a country of destination would be Turkey, but over

the last few years the situation has changed. The Meskhetian Turks now have the hope of an organized return to Georgia, since most of them are not in a position to return independently. The older generation mostly believes it is ready to leave for the homeland of its own accord, once the relevant laws have been adopted. However, they need political, social and economic guarantees. If Georgia can provide this, the number of potential repatriates could rise considerably. For the younger generation, countries where they were born are a comfortable and safe home. For the majority, the Caucasus is their historical homeland, the ancestral homeland, but regardless of how informed they are (according to what the elderly told them) about features of the southern Georgian landscape, people who have never been there have a very unemotional attitude to Georgia as homeland. For them it remains an imaginary homeland.

### *Research workshops and conferences*

While the first workshop of project researchers with a focus on methodology took place in September 2004 in Flensburg, Germany, the second workshop dedicated to coordination and refinement of the research process took place in Tbilisi on 3-5 June 2005. Country coordinators provided presentations on the progress of studies in their respective countries and the timeframe and location for subsequent short-term and follow-up studies were agreed.

The workshop was organized in conjunction with a conference for major stakeholders involved with Meskhetian Turk issues in Georgia, i.e. government officials and representatives for international organizations and civil society. The conference took place on 6 June and was followed by a separate briefing of high-ranking officials from the Georgian government. The Georgian ministers for Conflict Resolution Issues, Refugees and Accommodation and Civic Integration attended the conference and subsequent briefing along with a range of other officials and parliamentarians. A press conference for local and foreign journalists was also held following the briefing. At these events, the ECMI research network experts informed Georgian officials, activists, scholars and other stakeholders involved in the solution of Meskhetian Turks' issues on the preliminary findings of the research project.



On 6 June 2005, ECMI held a conference entitled "Finding Durable Solutions for the Meskhetians" in Tbilisi, Georgia, as a part of a large-scale comparative research project "Between Integration and Resettlement: The Meskhetian Turks".

A special emphasis was put on the population's integration in their countries of current settlement and their plans with regard to possible repatriation to Georgia. The events were widely and rather positively covered by the Georgian mass media.

### *Project goals achieved*

The project has already achieved its main goal. During its implementation, comprehensive and profound knowledge about Meskhetian Turks has been acquired. This knowledge is not shelved but is already being shared with relevant stakeholders, especially in Georgia. Georgian officials as well representatives of the international community, including in particular the Council of Europe, have been regularly updated on the research progress.

The research findings have been extensively used by the Georgian authorities in devising strategies for repatriation of Meskhetian Turks. Furthermore, ECMI is now recognized by the Georgian authorities and by Meskhetian Turk organizations as a lead agency on Meskhetian Turk issues. As an offspring of the process, ECMI is currently facilitating an expert group in Georgia in drafting a law on repatriation of Meskhetian Turks and discussions with the Georgian Parliament are currently taking place on activities to prepare recipient communities in the envisaged process of future resettlement.

The research will lead to the publication in English of an authoritative 600+ page book volume on the Meskhetian Turks. Co-edited by Tom Trier (Project Director and Regional Representative for ECMI in the Caucasus) and Andrei Khanzhin (Project Coordinator and Research Associate), this volume is envisaged to be launched in early autumn 2006. In addition, efforts are currently being made to translate and publish the work in a Russian-language version as well.

As another result of the research project, a network of scholars has been created. Remarkably, scholars representing different academic views and also a wide-ranging spectrum of ideological orientations pooled to produce not just a purely academic account, but a study which can serve as an important source of information for those concerned with the plight of Meskhetian Turks. It has been a positive experience for ECMI to work with such a network of researchers representing different disciplines and holding different academic views. It is envisaged that in future new research initiatives can take shape based on the contacts established within the project.

## **III.**

### **OPEN METHOD OF COORDINATION AND ECMI RESEARCH ON 'THE ASPECT OF CULTURE IN THE SOCIAL INCLUSION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES'**

At the Lisbon European Council of March 2000 the EU Member States committed themselves to make a decisive impact on the eradication of poverty and social exclusion in order to achieve the overall aim of making the EU "the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-

driven economy by 2010". It was decided that the Member States' policies for combating poverty and social exclusion would be coordinated on the basis of an *Open Method of Coordination* (OMC), combining National Action Plans and a Community Action Programme.

The OMC is a 'soft governance' approach and, as such, a flexible means of working towards shared European objectives via National Action Plans (NAPs), which are assessed on the basis of common criteria (indicators), following jointly agreed objectives. By means of peer pressure and the sharing of their policies and experiences through the NAPs the Member States will converge on the agreed aims. The bi-annual submission of NAPs on Social Inclusion are analysed and commented on in a Joint Report on Social Inclusion by the European Commission and the Council. The Joint Reports assess progress made in the implementation of the OMC, set key priorities and identify good practice and innovative approaches of common interest to the Member States (European Commission online).

The common objectives<sup>2</sup> in the fight against poverty and social exclusion are grouped around four major objectives, which are:

1. To facilitate participation in employment and access by all to resources, rights, goods and services.
2. To prevent the risk of exclusion.
3. To help the most vulnerable.
4. To mobilize all relevant bodies.

The aspect of culture in promoting Social Inclusion remains under-represented in the NAPs adopted by EU Member States. Although a number of NAPs on social inclusion have addressed culture in terms of cultural activities and access to culture, it is unclear what impact these policies have on combating social exclusion of ethnic minorities. The aspect of culture as a means to promote social inclusion is relatively new.

Although there is widespread agreement now that "culture counts", there seems less understanding of what it entails to address cultural aspects of social exclusion. The evaluation of the success rate of cultural policies raises a number of issues in terms of the definition of culture. Not only does the complex reality of culture make it difficult to define measuring tools, it has also been almost impossible to map culture with a view to measuring and benchmarking. However, it is with good reason that the Commission has called for greater use of cultural policies in the NAPs on social inclusion precisely because culture is seen as a promoter of inter-cultural dialogue and thus enhanced social inclusion in plural societies. However, without greater understanding of how cultural tools enhance social inclusion, the Commission's call will yield few good results. An early evaluation of the attempts of Member States' government agencies to use culture as a means to address social exclusion is therefore highly relevant.

<sup>2</sup> The objectives were developed at the Nice European Council in December 2000 and revised by the Council in December 2002.

The exclusion of ethnic minorities appears particularly acute in the areas of access to employment, education, health, housing and gender. In the employment sector, ethnic minorities are often excluded from public administration positions and relegated to the lowest level jobs in the private sector. Self-employment and self-starters of small and medium size enterprises (SMEs) are often lower than the average. The level of education among ethnic minority groups is generally appalling. They experience language difficulties in state school systems resulting in high drop out rates and even non-attendance. Moreover, the number of ethnic minority teachers appears low, and segregation and special schooling have increasingly become the norm. Discrimination in the housing sector is especially troubling with issues ranging from non-access in the private housing market, laws requiring residence permits to obtain public housing and health benefits, to issues of property restitution in post-conflict areas and poor municipal housing resembling ethnic ghettos in other areas. In many states access to the public health sector does not only require prior registration but also insurance guarantees. Disadvantaged ethnic minorities usually do not have the means to buy insurance. Finally, across the board of ethnic minority exclusion, the female members often suffer double or triple discrimination: first as women, next as members of ethnic minorities and third as members of the poorest part of the population.

Although it has been argued that a concern with the distribution of economic opportunities and resources has been displaced by a preoccupation with the acknowledgement of cultural identities and differences, there is little evidence of this in the NAPs of EU Member States.

The lack of cohesive programmes aimed at linking social inclusion with culture in NAPs has also been pointed out by a group of experts who studied the cultural policies of eight EU15 Member States.<sup>3</sup> They found that although inclusion in cultural activities is often an important stepping stone in preventing or addressing social exclusion, there is nevertheless a lack of drive at central government levels to actively promote engagement in cultural activities as an important tool for addressing social exclusion. Indeed, the lack of awareness of the positive role culture can play in addressing social exclusion seems to be more of a national than a local problem. More importantly, according to the experts, stronger emphasis also needs to be placed on embracing cultural diversities. The underlying approach of Member States varies enormously. In some Member States a great deal of emphasis is placed on providing language tuition to excluded minorities. Whilst this is necessary to help counteract exclusion it is also necessary to develop programmes to encourage cultural diversity to flourish.

The group of experts therefore recommended, among others:

<sup>3</sup> Roberta Woods, Lynn Dobbs, Christopher Gordon, Craig Moore and Glen Simpson, "Report of a thematic study using transnational comparisons to analyse and identify cultural policies and programmes that contribute to preventing and reducing poverty and social exclusion." The Centre for Public Policy, Northumbria University, Newcastle upon Tyne, UK, 2004.

- NAPs need to address the role that cultural policy and practices have in addressing the needs of people who are socially excluded;
- Stakeholders and groups contributing to the NAPs could be asked their views about the importance of participation in cultural activities as a means of reducing social exclusion;
- Culture needs to be broadly defined; it goes further than the remit of cultural policy (the arts, sports, media, theatre, museums, libraries) to embrace opportunities to enhance the quality of life for everyone and to provide access routes out of marginalization and unemployment; and
- Piloting of indicators to measure the impact of the participation in cultural activities on social exclusion should take place.

It is therefore clear that cultural activities and protecting the right to culture of ethnic minorities may contribute to social inclusion but may not necessarily ensure effective social inclusion without also addressing cultural diversity.

#### *Cultural diversity and Common Inter-Cultural Indicators*

The ECMI project on developing cultural indicators evaluates the cultural policies introduced in NAPs by six Member States (Estonia, Latvia, Czech Republic, Slovak Republic, Slovenia and Sweden) in terms of their impact on promoting social inclusion of ethnic minorities, including Roma/Sinti groups. The specific added value of this evaluation will be the piloting of a set of Common Inter-Cultural Indicators (CICIs) feasible for cost-effective analyses and benchmarking within the EU.

This project pays special attention to cultural diversity and the value of inter-cultural exchanges. The relation between culture and socio-economic exclusion is difficult to incorporate into NAPs because there is often a lack of cross-sectoral cooperation between Member State agencies. By elucidating the aspect of culture in socio-economic exclusion and by elaborating a feasible index of CICIs, this project will contribute to improved cross-sectoral integration in NAPs.

The selection of the NAPs is based on the value that each of these has afforded to culture and the necessity to implement cultural policies. The NAPs represent manageable size economies in terms of conducting data collection, including original data collection. Moreover, four out of the six Member States have specifically highlighted the issue of Roma/Sinti exclusion from the socio-economic sphere, and the evaluation of these would thus present a feasible opportunity to benchmark. These four Member States also represent a regional conclave of the EU thus affording the Commission the opportunity to develop a regional approach in the future. Finally, the EU15 NAP is included as it represents a comprehensive approach to culture and therefore the possibility to function as a good practice example.

Given that the purpose of this project is to evaluate the effectiveness of cultural policies of the NAPs, the goal is to enhance cultural policies in NAPs on social inclusion under the EU's OMC process. In support of these aims, the project's key objectives are:

- Improved NAPs through increased use of ICIs in policies on ethnic minorities, including Roma/Sinti groups;
- Improved capacity of MS' agencies to define and use ICIs and integrate cross-sectoral cooperation;
- Improved knowledge and mutual learning of deficiencies in NAPs in terms of ICIs;
- Enhanced capacity of the OMC to address inter-cultural challenges in the area of ethnic minorities.

Providing specific outputs such as separate evaluation studies of six NAPs on social inclusion that include cultural policies and represent Member States of comparable size; comparative analysis of impact of cultural policies in NAPs on social inclusion; comparative analysis of cost-effectiveness of cultural policies; proposal for OMC framework of CICIs based on comparable Member States and drawing on a regional outlook, this project will contribute to the further development of NAPs in the specific area of cultural policies aimed at promoting the social inclusion of ethnic minorities. By working with stakeholders in the relevant ministries and government departments as well as civil society throughout the process of the evaluation, each Member State's research team will conduct focus groups with stakeholders early in the process in order to benefit from the views of stakeholders before designing the evaluation process and firming up the ICIs while stakeholders would have an opportunity to benefit from the available research on the issue through direct relations with the experts of the research team.

As the verification of CICIs entails a multidisciplinary approach, it is envisaged that the attention to CICIs throughout the project will enhance cross-sectoral integration in the Member States as stakeholders focus groups will have to include views from a broad cross-section of society.

After the data has been collected and analyzed by the research team, stakeholders in each Member State will be invited to a local dissemination seminar where the experts introduce the preliminary results. The presentation of these results will detail the research methods, indicators used and problems encountered during the research. This exercise would ensure greater transparency and participation especially if social partners come forth.

After the results from each Member State are incorporated into separate reports, they will be made available in the official language both in hard copies and online. Moreover, as the results are incorporated into a comparative study and disseminated at a final conference, stakeholders will be able to benefit from the explanations provided by the comparative expert as well as the report from the conference which will be translated into the six official languages.

It is envisaged that this continued stakeholder-activation approach will strengthen the implementation of future NAPs as far as cultural policies are concerned. The transfer of knowledge from experts to stakeholders as well as the need for these to keep in contact throughout the process will enhance the ability of stakeholders to address cultural policy issues in the future. Finally, it is envisaged that the piloting of an index of CICIs during this evaluation process will further contribute to the ongoing procedural reforms of the OMC process, in particular, the future streamlining process.

Eventually, the Commission may wish to incorporate the developed CICIs into a methodological guide that proposes feasible common indicators on culture in all Member States. Such a methodological guide could function as the foundation for a validation process at the European level.

## **IV.**

### **JURISPRUDENCE COMMENTARY AND COMPLEX POWER-SHARING**

#### **Jurisprudence Commentary: Universal Minority Rights: a Commentary on the Jurisprudence of International Courts and Treaty Bodies**

This research is aimed to, for the first time, review minority rights jurisprudence from all relevant universal and regional courts and treaty bodies. The book will provide an authoritative assessment of the development of substantive legal rules in this area. This is particularly important, given the absence of a detailed and binding international legal instrument on the subject.

The Jurisprudence Commentary will aim to consolidate practice that has arisen within universal and regional treaty bodies and courts in relation to minority rights and critically examine how this practice has advanced minority rights in general terms. It will advance our understanding of the specific content of individual and collective minority rights governing discrete issue areas on the basis of jurisprudence, rather than just soft law instruments. Furthermore, the publication will contribute to an understanding of minority rights that ranges beyond the European context and to investigate to what extent the judicial practice that has been generated by the Council of Europe institutions is being received into universal practice.

The Commentary will pursue the following thematic areas of investigation: concept and definition of minorities (minority issues and group identity); non-discrimination and full and effective equality; expression, assembly and association; religious rights; family, private life and cultural rights; linguistic identity; education; physical integrity, due process and the administration of justice; effective political participation; equal access to social and eco-



conomic opportunities; the legal nature of minority rights as a part of human rights, limitations, derogations, reservations and interpretative statements.

Due to its legal focus, the Commentary will be of particular use firstly to academic specialists, practitioners, or professionals working in the field of minority rights. Accordingly, the core beneficiaries will be individual academic scholars and university libraries, practicing lawyers and law firms as well as officials in international organizations and government.

### **Carnegie Project on Complex Power-Sharing and Self-Determination**

This project presents and analyses novel ways of overcoming apparently irresolvable self-determination conflicts through complex power-sharing arrangements concluded and implemented with international involvement. It considers eight recent cases of such attempted settlements and studies key structural issues involved in layering public authority in a complex way across all of the cases.

The project will yield two substantial books, a shorter report, a presentation conference and a dedicated web site. The first book will feature the case study analyses, along with materials evidencing the power-sharing arrangement or settlement and its implementation. The second book will address structural issues encountered in relation to this novel practice of power sharing, based on a comparative analysis of the case study work. The short report will present the findings and lessons of the project to a wider audience. Throughout, the project and its progress will be chronicled on a dedicated web site, giving the opportunity for comment and criticism as the project develops, and offering other scholars access to the materials that are being generated.

The project will enhance understanding of the different approaches to power sharing that have been adopted in order to overcome prolonged conflict over self-determination issues. It will also offer practice-oriented suggestions in the form of a tool-kit of solutions to concrete problems in the construction of multi-layered regimes of public authority in different circumstances.

In summary the project seeks to achieve the following:

- Advance existing power-sharing theory by highlighting the multi-level complexity of contemporary power sharing practice.
- Document individual cases of complex power-sharing arrangements.
- Investigate and evaluate the effectiveness of complex power-sharing mechanisms.
- Analyze the role and scope of international involvement/intervention in power sharing.
- Locate and address common structural themes and issues evident across case studies.
- Develop from this structural analysis lessons for the resolution of self-determination conflicts that may be applied to other, as yet unresolved cases and advance the theory of complex power sharing.

## V. NATIONAL MINORITY CONSULTATIVE COUNCILS – MINORITIES IN PUBLIC LIFE

### National Minority Consultative Councils

The participation of minorities in the political process is perhaps the most important aspect of good practice in the area of minority-majority relations. If minorities are genuinely included in political decision-making, this will significantly enhance the quality of minority provision and generate a sense of integration and inclusion. National Minority Consultative Bodies are one key element in generating mechanisms for political participation.

National Minority Councils are essential bodies that enable the political participation of minorities and can offer a uniquely effective solution to the problems of implementation of minority rights standards. Their role is to be an intermediary between the government-legislative level and the members of national minorities. These bodies can provide advice, counsel and enhance the input of minorities in policies or legislation affecting them. National minority councils ensure the consultation and participation of individuals belonging to national minorities for decisions affecting them. However, these councils face many deficiencies in their status, mandate/function, membership/number of minorities involved, and functioning/working methods.

The need for research on National Minority Consultative and Advisory bodies has been underscored by the Council of Europe's Committee of Experts on Issues relating to the Protection of National Minorities (DH-MIN). Indeed, during its meeting held on 10-12 May, 2005, DH-MIN decided that the issue of advisory and consultative bodies of national minorities should be examined further. Accordingly, a questionnaire was sent out to DH-MIN members on the "Consultation arrangement concerning national minorities". ECMI has further followed this initiative and helped translate the findings from this study into action. Furthermore, ECMI Director Marc Weller was appointed to the position of Rapporteur on this issue by the Council of Europe.

The answers that each DH-MIN member state provided to the questionnaire were disseminated and organized by ECMI in an "Analytical Table of Council of Europe Questionnaire Responses" with the aim of becoming a useful future reference tool on the various existing models of minority councils and consultative bodies.

The findings of the questionnaire "Consultation arrangement concerning national minorities" was later discussed at DH-MIN's following meeting in October 2005 at which ECMI Director Marc Weller presented a report highlighting the possible future avenues that DH-MIN's work should pursue. ECMI's research document, "Analytical grid drawn on materials researched at ECMI", was used as an information tool at the DH-MIN meeting.

ECMI Director Marc Weller will present a follow-up report at the Conference in Romania on the role of consultative bodies in the decision-making process with consultative bodies, DH-MIN, ACFC, NGO and experts in Romania on 6-7 March 2006.

## VI.

### FULL AND EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION OF MINORITIES IN PUBLIC LIFE IN ACCESSION STATES

ECMI has been compiling a comprehensive study on the changing forms of political inclusion (and exclusion) and the ways in which ethnic minority political mobilization and its role in shaping the integration of minority communities is understood.

This publication will examine the question of the effectiveness of existing instruments and the emergence of novel mechanisms to promote the participation of members of ethnic minority groups in public life within the overall framework of European Union enlargement.

While the primary focus will be on the participation of ethnic minorities in conventional forms of political activity in the acceding and candidate countries, it will also seek to highlight the extent to which political participation has evolved outside these conventional arenas, such as through ethnic minority mobilization and civil society organizations.

The studies will also examine the degree to which minorities participate in the economic and social life of their countries, whether they enjoy equal opportunities or in fact face obstacles in any areas, and, if so, whether the respective governments are taking steps to create the conditions for equal opportunities in these spheres.

Since intergovernmental organizations and the EU accession process have played a significant role in shaping the framework to ensure the rights of minorities in general, and the right to effective participation in public life in particular, the research will seek to assess the impact of these external actors in enhancing the participation of minorities and in shaping institutions and structures which seek to give a voice to the interests and concerns of minority communities.

The publication will combine empirical studies with the development of a conceptual framework for understanding the ways in which minority identity impacts on political participation and democratic institutions in the EU accession countries<sup>4</sup> at the local, sub-regional and national levels. The empirical studies are mainly presented as comparative case studies. Countries that share certain demographic, historical or other features have been paired to draw out different approaches that have been deployed to enhance effective par-

<sup>4</sup> For the purpose of this study, "EU accession countries" refers to the ten Central and East European states which acceded in May 2004 (Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia) or are expected to accede later in 2007 (Bulgaria and Romania), as well as Croatia which has officially submitted its candidacy. At present, Cyprus, Malta and Turkey are not foreseen as case studies as there are no significant developments in practice with respect to the participation of minorities.

ticipation. Conversely, where similar techniques have been used with different results, the comparative approach may help identify factors that contribute to success or failure.

## VII. ECMI TRAINING AND ADVISORY FUNCTIONS

ECMI as an expert institution has been increasingly in demand to support and advise governments in relation to national legislation review and drafting (South East Europe — Macedonia, Kosovo, Serbia & Montenegro, Bulgaria, Romania; Eastern Europe — Moldova, Georgia), peaceful conflict transformation and minority participation in public life.

This capacity also allowed ECMI to contribute to better understanding of majority-minority relations for international agencies providing assistance to conflict regions.

2005 saw the initiation of training on minority issues to European agencies, particularly in their development work in the European neighbourhood. In light of the priority which the European Union puts on the rights of minorities in countries seeking accession to the EU, it is important that European agencies are aware of and address and include minority issues in their development programmes. Having been approached by the European Agency for Reconstruction in June 2005 to provide training on minority issues mainstreaming for the staff of EAR's four operational centres in Macedonia, Kosovo and Serbia & Montenegro, in parallel with the development of a training programme, a practical guide on minority issues in Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo and Macedonia was produced. This comprehensive guide included sections on the European and international legal frameworks protecting minority rights in the region, a section analyzing the status of minorities in each of the four countries, with a particular focus on EAR sector programmes and priority areas, and a section on mainstreaming minority issues into programming and the project cycle. The guide also included a glossary of key terms in the field of minority rights.

The training was carried out in November 2005 at EAR headquarters in Thessaloniki, Greece, including supervisory staff from the EU. As this was a first training on mainstreaming minority issues requested by an EU agency, the interest was great. The participatory nature of the training allowed EAR and ECMI staff to share experiences in the region, and to discuss rationales in mainstreaming minority issues into development and rehabilitation programmes wherever relevant. Due to the high receptivity and appreciation of the work done by ECMI, EAR has asked ECMI to continue to work with the agency in 2006 by advising on the development of terms of reference for various EAR projects, with special emphasis on the appropriate level of minority inclusion.

The interest in addressing minority issues inclusion in the assistance programmes has been expressed by other agencies and ECMI will further develop comprehensive training programmes, tailored to specific needs.

## VIII.

### PROJECTION OF ACTIVITIES IN 2006

Following the developments of 2005 and the dynamics of changes taking place all over Europe — the stabilization of conflicts and their transformation, greater interest among multi-ethnic and multi-national states to comply with international commitments and standards — in 2006, ECMI plans to consolidate further its activities around four strategic themes:

#### 1. *EQUAL ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES FOR MINORITIES;*

One of this programme's key missions will be to encourage mainstreaming of the socio-economic and cultural aspect of minority inclusion in governments, and international organizations, policies and actions.

#### 2. *POLITICAL PARTICIPATION:*

This area calls for particular attention as access to and encouragement of minorities' participation in public life is essential for democratic development, equal opportunities and stability particularly in multi-ethnic societies. Successful mechanisms for political participation of minorities will be studied and used in ECMI advisory activities.

#### 3. *CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC RIGHTS*

Respect for linguistic and cultural diversity is one of the cornerstones of the European Union and Council of Europe provisions. Art. 22 of the European Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedom states "The Union respects cultural, religious and linguistic diversity". Whilst ECMI is sensitive to the difficulties in protecting and promoting linguistic and cultural diversity, many states have not efficiently developed the strategic importance of promoting cultural diversity and inclusion. In particular, stronger acknowledgement of culture as a promoter of inter-ethnic dialogue is required. One of the aspects to be examined is to what extent obstacles to political and other forms of participation are related to language and what remedies are proposed by governments and civil societies to overcome such barriers.

#### 4. *CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION*

Based on its extensive work in conflict-ridden regions for the past many years, ECMI has contributed substantially to the settlement of those conflicts and to the process of gradual conflict transformation. Through advisory activities and action-oriented projects involving all stakeholders — governments and civil society/minority groups — ECMI has used its core competence and non-partisan objective approach to analysis and solutions proposed. This programme is regionally based and will assist in furthering peaceful power-sharing arrangements, also in co-operation with other international partners such as the Carnegie Network.

# 3



## Information & Documentation

### I.

#### LIBRARY

The ECMI Library has continued in its development as an integral part of ECMI's function as a documentation centre. In 2005, the build-up of hard copy and grey literature collections, as well as subscriptions to important online sources, continued with the acquisition of books and journals dealing with the field of international law and international relations, ethnic conflict and minority protection. Some of the useful materials added to the ECMI Library in 2005 were key documents and commentary on the political participation of minorities. The Ombudsman section of the Library continued to grow in 2005, with its continuously updated collection of Annual Reports from Ombudsman institutions worldwide.

In terms of new online sources, in 2005 ECMI became a contributor to HeinOnline, a prestigious, award winning resource which provides full-text, image based and fully searchable access to more than 650 legal periodicals as well as to international Treaties and Agreements. This has resulted in a wider distribution of ECMI publications, as well as in an increased awareness and recognition of ECMI's work. One example of this can be found on the website of the Harvard Law Library, which provides an annotated link to the ECMI website as well as to the ECMI collection in HeinOnline. ECMI continued to contribute to Columbia International Affairs Online (CIAO), the most comprehensive online source for theory and research in international affairs. It publishes a wide range of scholarship from 1991 onwards which includes working papers from university research institutes, occasional papers series from NGOs, foundation-funded research projects, proceedings from conferences, books, journals and policy briefs.

Cooperation with other institutions in the delivery and management of information resources retained its significance, particularly with ECMI's continued membership and database contribution to the Consortium of Minority Resources (COMIR). COMIR was founded specifically with the aim of fostering cooperation, especially where databases are concerned, in order to avoid unnecessary duplication of effort. ECMI has as well continued its membership in the Specialized Information Network International Relations and Area Studies, a consortium of eleven independent German research institutes aimed at the establishment of common information resources. The Network's database is one of the largest bibliographical databases on social sciences in Europe and reflects the main areas of interest of the member institutes. The database now holds more than 700,000 references to articles/chapters from periodicals and books (55%); monographs, reports (27%); official publications (4.5%). The database is updated regularly. All ECMI publications, as well as external publications of ECMI staff, are indexed and abstracted here. Several members of the Specialized Information Network are also member institutes of the European Information Network on International Relations (EINIRAS). In 2005, ECMI became a member of EINIRAS. EINIRAS is an association of European research institutions working with information and documentation on international relations in research and political practice. The long-term objective of EINIRAS is to establish a common European database on international relations and area studies. The short-term objectives include the expansion of practical cooperation and the exchange of information, bibliographical data, and publications. EINIRAS member institutes include, among others, the Council of Europe, the Finnish Institute of International Affairs, the Centre d'Informació i documentació Internacionals a Barcelona, the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI).

## II. DATABASES

The ECMI Framework Convention Database and the Framework Convention NGO Parallel Report Database were designed to be major tools for researchers and minority practitioners. In 2005, the Framework Convention Database was updated to reflect those second cycle State Reports that were received by the Council of Europe in that year, as well as Comments by the States, Advisory Committee Opinions, and Committee of Ministers Recommendations.

The aim of the ECMI Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities Database is to provide a comprehensive collection of materials on the negotiation and implementation of the Convention. This project is placed in the context of a further ECMI venture: a scholarly article-by-article commentary of the Convention produced by eminent specialists in the field of minority rights. This commentary, edited by ECMI Director Marc Weller, was published in 2005 by Oxford University Press.

This project covers the negotiating history of the Convention, other international instruments (treaties, declarations and recommendations) adopted by the Council of Europe, the UN and its specialized agencies, the OSCE, the EU, and other international organizations, as well as the most significant secondary documents produced within these regimes pertaining to implementation procedures and interpretation, such as the state reports submitted by member states, the opinions of the Advisory Committee, the responses by states, and the Recommendations adopted by the Committee of Ministers. The materials are presented on an article-by-article basis. The database, in its present form, contains files for each Article/Paragraph of the Convention as well as a file for the Preamble. The database enables scholars and practitioners to gain rapid insight into the practice of governments in the implementation of the commitment they undertook when becoming parties to the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.

The Ethnopolitical Map of Europe database is a major documentation project that will over time highlight minority issues across Europe. The aim of the Ethnopolitical Map is to offer quick and easy access to comprehensive information on background, population and socioeconomic statistics, international response to crisis management, as well as links and bibliography. In 2005, the Abkhazia and Romania entries were completed. In addition, the document sections on international response for the following countries were completed in 2005: Estonia, Latvia, Macedonia, Moldova.



# 4



## Publications

ECMI's publications are a major channel through which the Centre reflects both its research and its action-oriented project work and makes it available to the international community of researchers and practitioners. Through its manifold and interdisciplinary publication activity, ECMI endeavours to make a valuable contribution to the analytical and informational resources that help understand and transform relations between minorities and majorities throughout Europe.

In 2005, ECMI continued on the course outlined in its five-year strategy, which includes its two major book series: the series of Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues, published by the Local Government and Public Research Initiative; and the Handbooks on Minority Issues, published in cooperation with the Council of Europe.

In addition to its book publications, ECMI has continued the generation of its Working Papers, Reports and Issue Briefs, publishing two working papers, five reports and two issue briefs. A description of each of these and full listings is recounted below. Furthermore, ECMI staff contribute to external scholarly publications as well as maintaining ECMI's own online Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe (JEMIE), an innovative venture that has been highly successful since its launch in autumn 2001 in fostering scholarship and stimulating academic debate.

## I. BOOKS

### Handbook Series

With the establishment of the series of Handbooks on Minority Issues, ECMI provides practical guides to specific aspects of majority–minority relations, in particular the applicable standards and international implementation mechanisms that exist at the national, regional and international level for the protection of minorities. The Handbooks are aimed at practitioners, minority rights advocates, government officials, legal experts and journalists.

They also serve as valuable introductions to minority issues and ethnopolitics for students of International Relations, International Law, Political Science and related disciplines. The series is published by Council of Europe Publishing.

#### *Vol.2: Mechanisms for the Implementation of Minority Rights*

under decisive editorial collaboration of Marc Weller and Dr. Alexander H. E. Morawa (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2005)

This publication offers a comprehensive and critical overview of the political and legal mechanisms that are available at both the European and international levels for the implementation of minority rights standards. Amongst the aspects covered are: the United Nations treaty monitoring bodies; the proceedings before the International Court of Justice; the Council of Europe's treaties and mechanisms (the European Court of Human Rights mechanism, the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages); OSCE political commitments and mechanisms in the human dimension, including the High Commissioner on National Minorities; and the EU contribution to the protection of minorities and the prevention of discrimination. In each chapter, the authors discuss prospects for the future and provide practical guidance for minority rights practitioners. This work will be of interest to human rights scholars, students of international law and international relations, nongovernmental organizations and other institutions involved in minority issues.

### Jurisprudence Commentary

#### *Universal Minority Rights: A Commentary on the Jurisprudence of International Courts and Treaty Bodies*

(Marc Weller, ed., Oxford University Press., forthcoming 2006)

This book is aimed to, for the first time, review minority rights jurisprudence from all relevant universal and regional courts and treaty bodies. The book will provide an authoritative assessment of the development of substantive legal rules in this area. This is particularly

important, given the absence of a detailed and binding international legal instrument on the subject (see also Sec.2.III)

### Studies Series

The Series on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues provides a highly visible and accessible platform for ECMI's studies. These are multi-author works that result from the Centre's co-operative research projects, often ranging over a number of years. The series enables ECMI to strengthen the link between its action-oriented work in all parts of the wider Europe and the development of practice-oriented scholarship. Through these studies, ECMI draws attention to cross-cutting issues of majority–minority relations that arise in its area of operation and provides analysis of such new issues or practices. In this way, the volumes in this series will advance the practical understanding of new challenges concerning minority issues while at the same time adding a dimension of theoretically based understanding.

#### ***Vol.3: The Fate of Ethnic Democracy in Post-Communist Europe***

(Sammy Smootha and Priit Järve (eds) Budapest: LGI, 2005)

This study explores novel theories of 'ethnic democracy'. The study draws on examples of the organization of governance according to the interests of dominant ethnic groups in Eastern Europe since the post-Cold War transition.

## II.

### WORKING PAPERS

Working Papers are original, in-depth analyses of emerging or ongoing developments and are intended to stimulate further debate. In the light of comments and criticism, they will subsequently be revised and may be published in an expanded form in the ECMI Yearbook or other ECMI publications. Working papers are an important element in ECMI's strategy of promoting interdisciplinary research on ethnopolitics and minority issues.

#### **#24: Malloy, Tove H.:**

*National Minority 'Regions' in the Enlarged European Union: Mobilizing for Third Level Politics?* July 2005, 44 pp, appendix (ISSN 1435-9812)

#### **#23: Wheatley, Jonathan:**

*Obstacles Impeding the Regional Integration of the Kvemo Kartli Region of Georgia.* February 2005, 49 pp, appendix (ISSN 1435-9812)

### III. REPORTS

ECMI Reports are the products of the Centre's constructive conflict management work and reflect exchanges during workshops, roundtables and seminars. As these activities aim to foster dialogue in a way that will lead to concrete policy recommendations, these publications are made available after the event. They aim to give a synopsis of the panel presentations and discussions, and highlight recommendations that were adopted. Where appropriate, they also seek to outline any follow-on procedures that may be developed to support implementation of these recommendations. This category of ECMI publications also includes extensive background reports resulting from fact-finding visits to the region in question, often in preparation for new projects.

**#57: Tom Trier and Eleonora Sambasile:**

*'Towards Ratification' Conference on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.* Report on the International Conference of 19th September 2005 in Tbilisi, Georgia. December 2005, 51 pp., appendix. (ISSN 1818-0531)

**#56: Denika Blacklock:**

*Finding Durable Solutions for the Meskhetians.* A Presentation of Preliminary Findings and a Roundtable Discussion with Government and Civil Society Actors in Georgia. Report on the Joint Conference organized by the ECMI and the State Minister of Georgia on Conflict Resolution Issues. August 2005, 20 pp., appendix. (ISSN 1818-0531)

**#55: D. Christopher Decker and Roxana Ossian:**

*Enhancing Minority Governance in Romania.* The Romanian Draft Law on the Status of National Minorities: a Consultation with Civil Society. July 2005, 35 pp., appendix. (ISSN 1818-0531)

**#54: D. Christopher Decker and Aidan McGarry:**

*Enhancing Minority Governance in Romania.* The Romanian Draft Law on the Status of National Minorities: Issues of Definition, NGO Status and Cultural Autonomy. May 2005, 42 pp., appendix. (ISSN 1818-0531)

**#53: D. Christopher Decker:**

*Enhancing Minority Governance in Romania.* Report on the Presentation on Cultural Autonomy to the Romanian Government, March 2005, 20 pp., appendix. (ISSN 1818-0531)

## IV. ISSUE BRIEFS

Issue Briefs are shorter pieces offering analytical commentary on topical issues or crises of wider interest and provide a critical primer to a wider audience. In addition to publication on the ECMI website, they are distributed through other appropriate channels, such as mailing lists and placement in appropriate journals and periodicals.

### **#14: Malloy, Tove H.:**

*The Aspect of Culture in Promoting Social Inclusion in the European Union: Is the Open Method of Co-ordination (OMC) Working for Ethnic Minorities?* September 2005, 13 pp.

### **#13: Malloy, Tove H.:**

*The Lisbon Strategy and Ethnic Minorities: Rights and Economic Growth.* April 2005, 13 pp.

## V. EUROPEAN YEARBOOK OF MINORITY ISSUES

With Volume 2004/5, the fourth volume of the European Yearbook on Minority Issues, about to reach its readers, ECMI has achieved international acclaim as an institution which addresses minority issues in a consistent manner. The European Yearbook on Minority Issues was first conceived by ECMI's founding director, Prof. Dr. Stefan Troebst, in 1996 and developed in cooperation with the European Academy in Bolzano (EURAC) over the next few years.

Under the guidance of current ECMI Director Marc Weller and EURAC Director Prof. Dr. Joseph Marko, the first volume appeared in 2002. Among the eminent experts and scholars in the field that the European Yearbook on Minority Issues was able to attract to serve as its General Editors immediately from the beginning were Arie Bloed, Rainer Hofmann and James Mayall. More importantly, experts of high ranking as well as new emerging scholars have been willing to contribute more than once with the latest from their fields in terms of both theoretical and practical issues. While the first volume was able to secure contributions from Ted Robert Gurr and Rainer Hofmann to the readers, volumes two and three feature, among others, Asbjørn Eide and William Schabas. The younger generation of experts is equally as well represented with eminent and carefully collected and analyzed contributions. It is not without reason that the European Yearbook on Minority Issues has been met with good reviews and feedback from international experts, practitioners and students alike.

Realizing that the aspects to be covered in minority issues cover a broad range of disciplines and research areas, the founders and managing team of the European Yearbook on Minority Issues set an ambitious agenda. The European Yearbook on Minority Issues is expected to cover not just legal issues but all aspects of the study and management of relations between dominant and non-dominant groups in European societies. Thus, with the three volumes now available having covered special areas such as non-discrimination, multi-level governance, complex power-sharing, new minorities, migration and cultural diversity, and economic participation, as well as annual reporting on international and national developments, the European Yearbook on Minority Issues is already bringing a diversity of issues to public debate. This diversity is also well reflected in the fourth volume.

2005 was the fourth year of publication of the European Yearbook of Minority Issues. We have now had feedback, both informal and in the shape of scholarly reviews, in relation to the initial volumes. We are very pleased indeed to note that the Yearbook has been so well received and that it is attracting increasing support from contributors and readers. The study of majority-minority relations is certainly not going out of fashion. However, the subject is becoming increasingly complex, as we move away from the simple concept of 'minority protection' to the broader study of means and mechanisms that can be adopted to accommodate diversity within and across states.

The 2004/5 Issue contains three special feature sections, one focusing on Ombudsman Institutions, one on the EU and Minority Protection, and one on the Caucasus region. The special feature section on Ombudsman Institutions includes an article by Rianne Letschert on the possibilities of increased cooperation between national Ombudsman institutions and international mechanisms of minority rights. In the special feature section on the EU and Minority Protection, Guido Schwellnus review ten years of EU conditionality with regards to Central and European candidate states. The special feature section on the Caucasus region includes an article by Andrei Khanzin on finding solutions for the Meskhetian Turk issue, a subject which until recently has been chronically under-researched.

Editorial Board: Prof. Arie Bloed (Director of Constitutional and Legal Institute COLPI); Prof. Dr. Dr. Rainer Hofmann (Professor of Public, International and European Law at the University of Frankfurt, former President of the Advisory Committee on the European Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities); Prof. Joseph Marko (European Academy Bozen/ Bolzano, Professor of Constitutional Law at the University of Graz); James Mayall (Director of the Centre of International Studies and Professor at the University of Cambridge); John Packer (former Director of the OSCE Office of the High Commissioner on National Minorities); Hannah Suchocka (Polish Ambassador to the Holy See and Member of the Venice Commission, former Polish Prime Minister); and Marc Weller (Director of ECMI).

Co-Managing Editors: Dr. Tove H. Malloy (Senior Research Associate); and Emma Lantschner (European Academy Bozen/ Bolzano, Institute for Minority Rights).

Assistant Editors: Marnie Lloyd (Research Associate); and Gabriel N. Toggenburg (European Academy Bozen/Bolzano, Institute for Minority Rights); Matthew Ward; Leonhard Voltmer

## VI.

### FURTHER RELEVANT ECMI PUBLICATIONS

*European Centre for Minority Issues. Roms on Integration: Analyses and Recommendations.* Skopje: European Centre for Minority Issues. (2005)

*European Centre for Minority Issues. Toward Regional Guidelines for the Integration of Roms. Serbia and Montenegro: Integrated Analysis.* Flensburg: European Centre for Minority Issues. (2005)

# 5



## External Publications by ECMI Staff

**Farimah Daftary and Eben Friedman**, “Power-Sharing in Macedonia?” in *Resolving Self-Determination Disputes through Complex Power-Sharing* (edited volume funded by the Carnegie Corporation) (Forthcoming 2006).

**Eben Friedman**, “Minority rights in Europe: Roms in Slovakia and the Czech Republic”, in *Minority Rights in Europe: A Fragmented Regime?*, Peter Lang Verlag (Forthcoming 2006).

**Eben Friedman**, “Electoral System Design and Minority Representation in Slovakia and Macedonia”. *Ethnopolitics* 4 (4) (2005).

**Eben Friedman**, *Integracijata na Romite vo Slovačka I vo Madedonija: Komparativna analiza [Integration of Roms in Slovakia and Macedonia: Comparative Analysis]*. Macedonian Center for International Cooperation (2005).

**Eben Friedman**, *The Slovak Government Plenipotentiary for Romani Communities: From Form to Substance?* Budapest: EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program (2005).

**Tove H. Malloy**, “Europe and the FSU” in *State of the World’s Minorities, 2006*. MRGI, (2005)

**Tove H. Malloy**, *National Minority Rights in Europe*. Oxford University Press (2005).



**Tove H. Malloy**, “The Title and the Preamble”, in Weller, ed., *The Rights of Minorities in Europe*. Oxford University Press (2005).

**Tove H. Malloy**, “Fundamental Rights and National Minorities in the European Union: Protection or Empowerment”, in Kühl and Weller, eds., *Minority Policy in Action: The Bonn–Copenhagen Declarations in a European Context, 1955–2005*, South Denmark University Press (2005).

**Oleh Protsyk**, “Federalism and Democracy in Moldova”. *Post-Soviet Affairs* 21 (5) (2005).

**Oleh Protsyk**, “Politics of Intraexecutive Conflict in Semipresidential Regimes in Eastern Europe”. *East European Politics and Societies* 19 (2) (2005).

**Oleh Protsyk**, “Constitutional Politics and Presidential Power in Kuchma’s Ukraine”, Special 2005 Issue on ‘Ten Years of Leonid Kuchma’. *Problems of Post-Communism* 52 (5) (2005).

### Books published

**Marc Weller, ed.**, *The Rights of Minorities in Europe: Commentary on the European Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*. Oxford University Press, 688 pages, (2005).

**Marc Weller and Stefan Wolff, eds.**, *Autonomy, Self-governance and Conflict Resolution*. Routledge, 276 pages (2005).

**Marc Weller and Jørgen Kuehl, eds.**, *Minority Governance in Action: The Bonn-Copenhagen Declarations in a European Context 1955-2005*, South Denmark University Press, 347 pages (2005).

**Marc Weller**, “Forcible Humanitarian Action: The Case of Kosovo”, in O’Connell, Ronzitti and Bothe, eds., *Redefining Sovereignty: The Use of Force After the End of the Cold War*, Transnational Publishers, 50 pages (2005).

**Marc Weller**, “The Future of Minority Rights Provision in Europe”, in Weller, ed., *An Ever Diverse Union?* Palgrave, 35 pages (Forthcoming 2006).

**Marc Weller**, “From Security to Co-Governance: Towards an Integrated System of Diversity Management in Europe?” in Kuehl and Weller, eds., *Minority Policy in Action*. 24 pages (2005).

**Marc Weller**, “The Self-determination Trap”, *Ethnopolitics* 4 (1) (2005).

- Marc Weller**, “Article 15 of the European Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities”, in Weller, ed., *The Rights of Minorities in Europe: Commentary on the European Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*, Oxford University Press (2005), 419–451; and “The Contribution of the European Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities to the Development of Minority Rights”, at 596–625.
- Marc Weller**, *The Future of International Law*, 150 pages, under contract to Polity press, to appear in 2006/7.
- Marc Weller, ed.**, *An Ever Diverse Union?: The Future of Minority-Majority Relations in the Enlarged EU*, Forthcoming, under contract by Palgrave, approx. 325 pages. Full manuscript available for inspection.
- Farimah Daftary and Marc Weller, eds.**, *Co-governance in Diverse Societies: Political Participation of Minorities in EU Accession States*, sent for consideration to Berghahn Publishers, partial manuscript available for inspection, for publication 2007.
- Marc Weller and Stefan Wolff, authors and eds.**, *Handbook of Institutions for the Settlement of Ethnic Conflict in Europe*, 320 pages, under contract with Council of Europe Press for publication 2006/7.
- Marc Weller**, “Addressing Self-determination”, Forthcoming (2006) in Weller & Metzger, eds., *Settling Self-determination Conflicts*, 45 pages.
- Marc Weller**, “Complex Power-sharing in Kosovo”, Forthcoming (2006) in Weller & Metzger, eds., *Settling Self-determination Conflicts*, 38 pages.
- Marc Weller**, “Enforced Autonomies in the Balkans”, in Marc Weller and Stefan Wolff, eds., *Autonomy, Self-governance and Conflict Resolution*, Routledge, 35 pages (2005).
- Marc Weller**, “The Sudan Peace Settlement”, in Marc Weller and Stefan Wolff, eds., *Autonomy, Self-governance and Conflict Resolution*, Routledge, 33 pages (2005).
- Marc Weller and Stefan Wolff**, “Self-determination and Autonomy”, in Marc Weller and Stefan Wolff, eds., *Autonomy, Self-governance and Conflict Resolution*, Routledge, 33 pages (2005).
- Marc Weller and Stefan Wolff**, “Recent Trends in Autonomy and State Design”, in Marc Weller and Stefan Wolff, eds., *Autonomy, Self-governance and Conflict Resolution*, Routledge, 12 pages (2005).

# 6



## Presentation of Papers by ECMI Staff

- 15-16 FEBRUARY "Ethnic Data Collection" ECRI Seminar, Council of Europe, Strasbourg. (Malloy)
- 2 MARCH Tanner Lectures, Clare Hall, Cambridge, Comment, *Post Conflict Stabilization: Lessons from a Decade of Complex Peace-keeping*. (Weller)
- 10 MARCH "Economic Participation of National Minorities in the OSCE: The Local Dimension." Panel on Economic and Social Integration, OSCE 3<sup>rd</sup> Preparatory Seminar to the 13<sup>th</sup> Economic Forum in May 2005, Kiev. (Malloy)
- 17 MARCH University of Berlin, *The Law and Armed Conflict*. (Weller)
- 22 MARCH Tbilisi State University, Institute of International Relations, *Settling Self-determination Conflicts*. (Weller)
- 6 APRIL Royal Danish Parliament, 50 Years Bonn Copenhagen Declarations Anniversary Festive Act, *The Bonn-Copenhagen Declarations and the Wider European Experience of Conflict Settlement*. (Weller)
- 14-16 APRIL Association for the Study of Nationalities, Annual Conference, Columbia University. Paper: The Politics of the Census: Of Gypsies, Roms, and Egyptians." (Friedman)

- 14-16 APRIL Association for the Study of Nationalities, Annual Conference, Columbia University. Paper: After Dayton, Dayton? The Evolution of an unpopular Peace. (Bieber)
- 14-16 APRIL Association for the Study of Nationalities, Annual Conference, Columbia University. Discussant, *10 Years of Dayton and Beyond*. (Weller)
- 14-16 APRIL Association for the Study of Nationalities, Annual Conference, Columbia University. Paper: Formal Mechanisms for Enforcing Informal Rules. (Protsyk)
- 19 APRIL Senior Armed Forces Training, Madingly Hall, *The European System for the Management of Minorities and Migrants*. (Weller)
- 22 APRIL “Minority Consultative Bodies: An Analysis of Good Practice”, Expert Study for the Council of Europe, DH-MIN, 2005, 28 pages. (Weller)
- 23-27 MAY “Making the Principle of Non-discrimination Work in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: The Significance of Positive Measures to Combat Discrimination and Promote Integration.” Panel on Policies of Integration of Persons belonging to National Minorities, OSCE 13<sup>th</sup> Economic Forum, Prague. (Malloy)
- 25 MAY “Self-determination and Autonomy”, Working Paper Commissioned by the Working Group on Minorities of the United Nations Sub-Commission on Human Rights, UN doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.5/2005/WP.5. (Weller)
- 25-26 MAY Hewlett Foundation, Hoover Institution, and Princeton University Project on Preventative Force, Stanford University, Comment, *Preemption vs. Prevention*. (Weller)
- 31 MAY United Nations Working Group on Minorities, Geneva, *Self-determination and Autonomy*. (Weller)
- 10 JUNE European Academy, Sankelmark, Dialogforum Nord, *The European Draft Constitution and Minority Rights*. (Weller)
- 21 JUNE Suedosteuropa Gesellschaft, *Bosnia 10 Years after Dayton*, Keynote Address, A Genuine Transition?, Munich. (Weller)
- 23 JUNE European Academy, Bolzano, Italy, *Asymmetrical State Designs as a Tool of Conflict Management*. (Weller)

24-26 JUNE	Cambridge Use of Force Project, <i>Maintaining and International Consensus on the Rules Governing the Use of Force</i> , Berlin, Germany, Conference Chair and Presenter on all panels. (Weller)
11 JULY	"The European Union and National Minorities." Cultures in Dialogue Summer Programme, North-South Schleswig. (Malloy)
14-17 JULY	"Romani Political Participation in Slovakia and Macedonia." Paper presented at the Roma Regional Training Academy of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Ohrid. (Friedman)
26 AUGUST	European Academy, Sankelmark, Minority Conference, <i>The German-Danish Declarations in a European Context</i> . (Weller)
28 AUGUST	Cambridge Use of Force Project, <i>Maintaining an International Consensus on the Rules Governing the Use of Force</i> , Bellagio, Italy, Conference Chair and Rapporteur, Chairman of all Working Groups and Presenter of a substantive report on <i>Humanitarian Intervention and Pro-democratic Action</i> . (Weller)
6 SEPTEMBER	Royal Navy, International Relations Conference, <i>Intervention Operations and International Law</i> , Portsmouth. (Weller)
15 SEPTEMBER	Presentation of ECMI Profile at EINIRAS Conference in Zurich. (McKinney)
28 OCTOBER	"National Minorities and Para-State Action in the EU." Panel on "The Kurdish Minorities: An Issue for the EU?" EU-ISS Conference on "The Kurdish Issue and the EU". (Malloy)
11 NOVEMBER	External Actors and State (re)-Construction, Ithaca, Cornell University. Paper: External De- and Re-construction of Multiethnic States: the Case of Bosnia-Herzegovina. (Bieber)
19-24 NOVEMBER	Cambridge University, Settling Conflicts in Georgia and Moldova: A Comparative Perspective, Conference Chair, keynote address. (Weller)
19-24 NOVEMBER	Cambridge University, Seminar on the Settlement of Ethno-Territorial Conflicts. Paper: Democratization as a Means of Conflict Resolution in Moldova. (Protsyk)
21-22 NOVEMBER	"ECMI's Project Activities with Roms." Presentation at the UNDP/Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung conference "Roma in an Enlarged Europe," Brussels. (Friedman)

- 24-26 NOVEMBER The Status of Minorities in Serbia, Belgrade, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. Paper: National Minorities in Government: Cure or Placebo for Effective Minorities Rights. (Bieber)
- 24-26 NOVEMBER The Status of Minorities in Serbia, Belgrade, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. Paper: Ethnopolitical Competition as a Factor in Stateless Minorities. (Friedman)
- 1 DECEMBER Madingly Hall, *Failed States: Constitution-making after Violent Conflict*. (Weller)

# 7



## ECMI Events, Delegations and Visitors

### JANUARY

21 JANUARY Ombudsman Project Network Meeting,

### FEBRUARY

7 FEBRUARY Visit by Dr. Rein, German Ministry of the Interior and Dr. Kemper, new appointed Minority Representative of the German Government, Flensburg, Germany

10 FEBRUARY Opening of Bonn-Copenhagen Agreement Exhibition, Skt. Petri Church, Copenhagen, Denmark

21 FEBRUARY Visit to ECMI by FUEN representatives from Graubünden Canton, Switzerland

25 FEBRUARY Regional Research and Minority Meeting, Flensburg, Germany

27 FEBRUARY Friesenrat, 2005 Opening at the Nordseeakademie

### MARCH

1 MARCH Bonn – Copenhagen Ceremony at the Buergerhaus in Harrislee, Flensburg

2 MARCH German-Danish Network on Ethnic-and Conflict Studies, Roskilde University, Denmark

7-11 MARCH	South Ossetia and Georgia Seminar, Cambridge, UK
17-19 MARCH	Meetings with several Heads of Divisions at the German Foreign Office and German Marshall Fund, Berlin
17-19 MARCH	Seminar on Draft Status Law on National Minorities in Sinaia, Romania

#### **APRIL**

1 APRIL	Meetings with European Council Members, Brussels
5 APRIL	First joint meeting of ECMI's Romani Expert Groups for Romani Integration, Skopje, Macedonia
6 APRIL	Celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Bonn-Copenhagen Declaration and Book Presentation, Danish Parliament, Copenhagen, Denmark
7 APRIL	ECMI Board Meeting, Copenhagen
12 APRIL	Open Research Meeting with Presentation by ECMI Visiting Researcher, Ms Dilek Kurban on: "Glass Half Full? The Impact of the European Union Accession Process on the Protection of Minorities in Turkey", Flensburg
14-15 APRIL	ASN Convention, Columbia University, New York, ECMI-sponsored panel "The Role of Dayton"
16-17 APRIL	ECMI/Department of Inter-Ethnic Relations sponsored meeting on Romanian Government's Draft Law on the Status Of National Minorities, Sinaia, Romania
19-20 APRIL	Meetings with Desk Officers at the German Foreign Office and visits to several German Foundations, Berlin
21 APRIL	Preparatory Meeting for this year's Minority Marathon (You'm), Kiel
28 APRIL	Visit by Flensburg's Mayor Klaus Tscheuschner and City President Hans-Hermann Laturus, Flensburg
28 APRIL	Regional Meeting: Working Group on Minorities, Integration and Intercultural Competence

#### **MAY**

5 – 7 MAY	Fuen Congress, Bucharest, Romania
28 MAY	Danish Annual Meetings



- 23-27 MAY Thirteenth Meeting of the OSCE Economic Forum, Prague, ECMI Presentation "Making the Principle of Non-discrimination Work in the 21st Century: The Significance of Positive Measures to Combat Discrimination and Promote Economic Integration"
- 29 MAY Presentation by Minister-president Carstensen to the Danish Annual Meetings on "Medien-Information", Flensburg

#### **JUNE**

- 3-5 JUNE Meskhetian Turks, 2nd Workshop, Tbilisi, Georgia
- 6 JUNE International Conference on the "Repatriation of the Meskhetian Turks to Georgia", Tbilisi, Georgia
- 11 JUNE "Tanz Baltica 2005" International Festival on Culture, Groemitz

#### **JULY**

- 1 JULY Seminar organized by the Baltic Academy (Lübeck), at the ECMI
- 14 JULY Visit by the "Ostsee Jugend Mediencamp", Co-operation between the Landesmedienanstalt and the Landesjugendring, Flensburg

#### **AUGUST**

- 11 AUGUST Meeting of Working Group on Minorities, Integration and Intercultural Competence
- 22 AUGUST Book Presentation and Press Conference organised by Author at ECMI
- 24 AUGUST Visit by Ms Schwarz, newly appointed Representative for Minorities and Culture of the Prime Minister of Schleswig-Holstein
- 25 AUGUST Interview with the Spanish Newspaper "El Mundo" regarding ethnic and national minorities in Europe, Flensburg
- 25 AUGUST Opening of the Minority Film Festival, Flensburg
- 26 - 28 AUGUST Minority Conference at Akademie Sankelmark in cooperation with Landeszentrale für politische Bildung
- 28 AUGUST Minority Marathon, ECMI Info desk and Press Office, Flensburg

#### **SEPTEMBER**

- 1 SEPTEMBER Visit of Members of the German Green Party
- 13 SEPTEMBER Visit of students from Duborg Skolen (Danish Highschool in Flensburg)

- 25–26 SEPTEMBER “ECMI Ombudsperson Network Project – Training Event”, Sofia, Bulgaria
- 27 SEPTEMBER ECMI National Conference on “Improving Minority Governance in Bulgaria”, Sofia
- 28 SEPTEMBER Presentation of Research Projects undertaken by ECMI’s Romani Expert Groups for Romani Integration, Skopje, Macedonia

#### **OCTOBER**

- 5 OCTOBER Celebration of the German Re-unification at the German Embassy in Aabenraa, Denmark
- 19 - 24 OCTOBER ECMI Project and Human Rights Cycle Training in Romania
- 28 OCTOBER Seminar on “The Kurdish Issue and the EU”, organised by EU Institute for Security Studies, Paris

#### **NOVEMBER**

- 3 NOVEMBER Visit of MEPs Margrethe Auken (Denmark) and Angelika Beer (Germany) at ECMI
- 14 NOVEMBER Lectures series in cooperation between ECMI and University of Flensburg “Minoritäten differenziert betrachtet”; Dr. Tove Malloy (ECMI): “Conventions of the European Council – International Standards for Minorities in Europe”
- 15 NOVEMBER ECMI Open Research Meeting – Presentation by Dr. Daniel Bourgeois, Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities at the University of Moncton, Canada, Flensburg
- 16–19 NOVEMBER ECMI Training on Minority Issues Mainstreaming for European Agency for Reconstruction Training Development Co-operation (EAR), Thessaloniki (Greece)
- 23 NOVEMBER Visit of MEP Jens-Peter Bonde (Denmark) at ECMI
- 19–24 NOVEMBER “The Resolution of Self-Determination Conflicts”, Seminar organised by ECMI together with the Centre of International Studies, Cambridge
- 28 NOVEMBER Lectures series in cooperation between ECMI and University of Flensburg “Minoritäten differenziert betrachtet”; Tom Trier (ECMI): “Minorities in the Enlarged Europe”

## **DECEMBER**

- 8 DECEMBER Meeting of Working Group on Minorities, Integration and Intercultural Competence
- 9 DECEMBER Visit of Dr. Henrik Becker-Christensen, Danish Consul General, Flensburg
- 12 DECEMBER Visit of Prof. Hanne Petersen (University of Copenhagen, Faculty of Law)

# 8



## Attendance of ECMI Staff at Conferences & Events

1 MARCH	Bonn-Copenhagen Ceremony at the Bürgerhaus in Harrislee, Flensburg (Chylinski)
9 MARCH	German-Danish Symposium on 50 <sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Bonn-Copenhagen Decalarations, Duborg-Skolen Flensburg (Chylinski)
6 APRIL	Celebration of the 50 <sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Bonn-Copenhagen Declarations in the Danish Parliament in Copenhagen (Weller, Chylinski)
7 APRIL	ECMI Board Meeting in Copenhagen
25 MAY	Celebration of Bonn-Copenhagen Declaration in the Parliament of Schleswig-Holstein (Chylinski)
1 JUNE	Cultural Exchange Meeting with Prime Minister of Schleswig-Holstein (Chylinski)
9 JUNE	DialogForum Norden at Akademie Sankelmark (Weller)
10 JUNE	Bosnia 10 Years After Dayton, Southeast Europe Foundation, Munich (Weller, Trier, Schupp)
11 JUNE	"Tanz Baltica 2005" – International Festival on Culture with minority representatives in Grömitz/Schleswig-Holstein (Chylinski)

28 JULY	Conference <i>Cultures in Dialogue 2005</i> in Flensburg (Malloy)
26-28 AUGUST	Minority Conference at Akademie Sankelmark in cooperation with Landeszentrale für politische Bildung (Weller)
3 SEPTEMBER	40th Birthday Celebration of the Nordfriisk Instituut in Bredstedt, Schleswig-Holstein (Chylinski)
5 OCTOBER	Reception of the Bund Deutscher Nordschleswiger on the occasion of the Day of German Unification in Apenrade, Denmark (Weller)

#### **OLEH PROTSYK**

14-18 APRIL	ASN Meeting, New York
12-16 MAY	Central and Eastern European Countries Inside and Outside the European Union: Avoiding a New Divide, Lithuania
19-23 MAY	The 13 <sup>th</sup> NISPAcee Annual Conference: "Democratic Governance for the XXI Century: Challenges and Responses in CEE Countries"
25-30 JULY	The VII World Congress of the International Council for Central and East European Studies.

#### **ALCIDIA MOUCHEBOEUF**

23 JUNE-1 JULY	Human Rights Law Summer Course, European University Institute, Florence, Italy
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#### **WILLIAM MCKINNEY**

21 JANUARY	Presentation of ECMI to FUEN representatives from Grabünden, Switzerland
27 MAY	Meeting of German-Danish Library Forum in Tondern
28-29 JUNE	Membership meeting of Specialized Information Network in Bonn
22-23 JUNE	General Meeting of Specialized Information Network (FIV-IBLK)
13 JULY	Presentation of ECMI to a group of youth from the Landesjugendring
19 AUGUST	Meeting of the German-Danish Library Forum in Aabenraa
28 AUGUST	ECMI materials at Minority Marathon
14-16 SEPTEMBER	15 <sup>th</sup> Annual EINIRAS Conference: "The Evolution of the Internet and the Study of International Relations and Political Science", Zurich, Switzerland

- 21 OCTOBER Domestic V Training for Specialized Information Network at Deutsches Übersee Institut, Hamburg
- 31 OCTOBER ECMI materials for the lecture by Tove Malloy at University of Flensburg
- 11 NOVEMBER Meeting of German-Danish Library Forum in Flensburg
- 21-22 NOVEMBER Membership Meeting of Specialized Information Network in Berlin
- 28 NOVEMBER ECMI materials for the lecture by Tom Trier at University of Flensburg

#### **TOVE MALLOY**

- 16-18 FEBRUARY Seminar with National Specialized Bodies to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination on the Issue of Ethnic Data Collection, in cooperation with ECRI at CoE.
- 19-21 MARCH Framework Convention Commentary Meeting, Cambridge, UK
- 29 APRIL-2 MAY Conference on the drafting of Romanian National Minority Law “Legal Framework on National Minorities”, Mangalia, Romania
- 24-27 May OSCE 13<sup>th</sup> Economic Forum, Prague, Czech Republic, “Non-discrimination and Positive Measure, Panel VII
- 28 OCTOBER Conference on “The Kurdish Issue and the EU” Workshop IV on “Minorities in the EU”.
- 28 NOVEMBER Yearbook Meeting, Bolzano, Italy
- 2 DECEMBER

#### **MARNIE LLOYDD**

- 28-30 APRIL UNDP Ombudsman Roundtable on Investigations and Anti-discrimination, Karlovy Vary, Czech Republic
- 13-17 JUNE Irish Human Rights Centre Summer School on Minority Rights (Guest presenter)

#### **EBEN FRIEDMAN**

- 20-27 JANUARY Presentation of Macedonia-language translation of PhD thesis: “Explaining the Political Integration of Minorities Roms as a Hard Case”
14. APRIL-16 MAY Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN) 10<sup>th</sup> Annual World Convention

### **DENIKA BLACKLOCK:**

- 31 MAY-10 JUNE Meskhetian Turks workshop and conference with local politicians, Tbilisi, Georgia
- 8 DECEMBER Seminar on “Diaspora and Conflict Peace Builders or Peace Wreckers?“, Copenhagen, Denmark

### **FLORIAN BIEBER**

- 20-23 JANUARY European Integration and its Effects on Minority Protection, Graz, University of Graz
- 4 FEBRUARY Minority Discrimination and Xenophobia, Vienna, Institute for the Danube Region and Central Europe.
- 8-9 FEBRUARY Political Participation of Minorities, Inter Ethnic Initiative for Human Rights (IEI) Foundation
- 14-16 APRIL ASN Convention, New York, Columbia University. Paper: After Dayton, Dayton? The Evolution of an Unpopular Peace
- 19-21 OCTOBER Bosnia and Herzegovina. Ten Years of Dayton and Beyond, Geneva, Association Bosnia and Herzegovina 2005.
- 9-11 NOVEMBER Preparing for Europe: Education for Ethnic Minorities in Serbia and Montenegro. Belgrade, Wilton Park/Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence
- 11-12 NOVEMBER External Actors and State (re)-Construction, Ithaca, Cornell University. Paper: External De- and Re-construction of Multiethnic States: the Case of Bosnia-Herzegovina
- 24-26 NOVEMBER The Status of Minorities in Serbia, Belgrade, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. Paper: National Minorities in Government: Cure or Placebo for Effective Minorities Rights
- 6 DECEMBER Minority Participation – Striking the Balance, Skopje, European Centre for Minority Issues / Friedrich Ebert Stiftung

# 9



## External and Internal Research Meetings

Minority-majority Accommodations in Canadian Municipalities (Daniel Bourgeois)

The Future of Majority-Minority Relations in Azerbaijan and Armenia (Denika Blacklock)

ECMI Programs on Minorities in the EU (MEU) and Equal Opportunities for Minorities (EOM) (Tove Malloy)

ECMI Moldova/Ukraine Programme (Oleh Protsyk)

ECMI Romani Programme Review (Eben Friedman)

ECMI South Caucasus Programme Review (Tom Trier)

Glass Half Full? The Impact of the European Union Accession Process on the Protection of Minorities in Turkey (Dilek Kurban)

Human and Minority Rights in Asia (Marnie Lloyd)

Understanding Conflict: Tools for Analysis and Management (Laina Reynolds Levy)



# 10



## Internships & Non-Resident Researchers

Sharing its increased competence, ECMI continued to contribute to awareness raising on minority issues through its internship programme. In 2005 over 15 young scholars from various countries, including Japan and Turkey, had the opportunity to work with ECMI's experts and resources on the Centre's various projects, both at the head office and in the six field offices.

### HEADQUARTERS FLENSBURG

Heu Yee Leung	January – June
Mikkel Erland Jensen	January – March
Alison Williams	February – March
Aidan McGarry	February – April
Nick Jones	April – July
Valentina Rigamonti	April – July
Jaimee Braun	June – August
Mary Apps	July – August
Jessica Fite	July – September
Michelle Armstrong	July – September
Haruko Matsuoka	July – September
Keti Asatashvili	August – September
Adriana Nikolova	September 2005 – March 2006
Kata Eplényi	October – December
Ulrike Schmidt	October – December
<i>Visiting Researcher:</i> Dilek Kurban / Jan – April	

**GEORGIA REGIONAL OFFICE**

Lali Kharabadze	March – June
Nino Vadakaria	April – September
Ketivan Asatashvili	May – June
Eleonora Sambesile	July – September
Denis Dafflon	October – December

*Non-resident senior researcher associate:* Dr. Jonathan Wheatley

**KOSOVO OFFICE**

Annita McKinna



## Finances and project funds

In 2005, ECMI received on the basis of its founding documents the following core funding in from its institutional donors, which covers the costs of core staff at the headquarters in Flensburg. As in the past ECMI raised an additional amount of external funding to sustain its projects. The following table indicates the main funding organizations for specific projects:

*Table 1: ECMI core funding 2005*

FOUNDERS	EUR
Denmark	346,000
Germany Federal Government	187,000
Schleswig-Holstein Government	141,100
<b>Total</b>	<b>674,100</b>

*Table 2: ECMI external project funding for 2005*

COUNTRY, PROJECT TITLE	DONOR (COUNTRY)
<b>MACEDONIA</b>	
MaNGO - NGO Network	Sida (Sweden)
	NAP (Denmark)
<b>KOSOVO</b>	
High Level Initiative	NAP (Denmark)
	WFD (Great Britain)
Civil Society Project	NAP (Denmark)
	MFA (Norway)
Community Consultative Council	MFA (Norway)

**SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO**

Ministry and Minority Rights Support	NAP (Denmark) (In cooperation with DIHR)
Supporting Local Romani Coordinators	Sida (Sweden)

**GEORGIA**

Javakheti – Defusing Inter-Ethnic Tension	NAP (Denmark) MFA (Norway)
Governance Capacity Enhancement	NAP (Denmark)
Kvemo Kartli – Stakeholder Forum	NAP (Denmark)
Meshtekian Turks – Resettlem./Integration	Volkswagen Foundation

**MACEDONIA**

Support on Romani Experts 1. Phase	Sida (Sweden)
Support on Romani Experts 2. Phase	Sida (Sweden)

**MOLDOVA**

Constitutional Framework	NAP (Denmark)
Conflict Settlement & Reintegration	Germany (Zivik)

**BULGARIA**

Reducing Minority Conflicts	FCO (Great Britain)
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**ROMANIA**

Enhanced Minority Governance	FCO (Great Britain)
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**OMBUDSMAN**

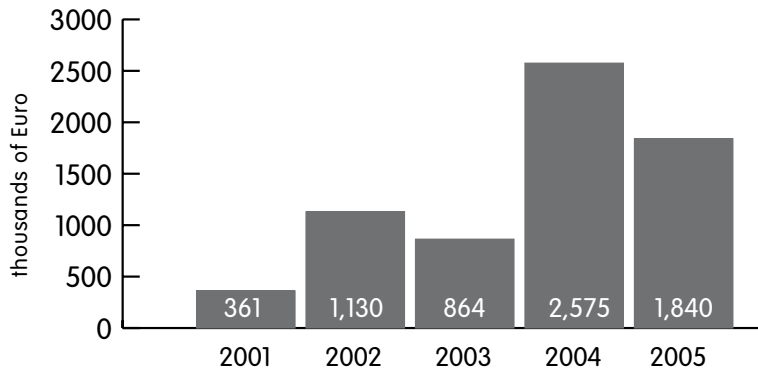
Network of Ombudspersons	NAP (Denmark)
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**OTHERS**

Provision of (EAR) Training	European Agency for Reconstruction (EU)
Power Sharing	Carnegie Foundation
Miniguide European Minorities	MFA (Germany)
Culture of Minorities	European Commission (EU)

*Table 3: External funding*

EXTERNAL FUNDING	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Founders (th. DM)	1,275,0				
Donors (th. DM)	705,8				
Other (th. DM)	43,7				
<b>th. DM</b>	<b>2,024,5</b>				
Founders (th. EUR)	651,9	667,6	664,6	674,1	674,1
Donors (th. EUR)	360,9	1,129,8	864,3	2,574,5	1,840,3
Others (th. EUR)	22,3	94,6	78,3	4,2	0,0
<b>th. EUR</b>	<b>1,035,1</b>	<b>1,892,0</b>	<b>1,607,1</b>	<b>3,252,8</b>	<b>2,514,4</b>
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
	361	1,130	864	2,575	1,840



# 12



## Staff and Board

### STAFF: HEADQUARTER AND FIELD OFFICES

#### Management

DIRECTOR: Weller, Marc

DEPUTY DIRECTOR: Chylinski, Ewa

FINANCES: Dummer, Bernd; Voss, Astrid (parental leave); Schmarbeck, Susanne (on sick-leave); Seesemann, Annette

SECRETARIAT & PROJECT CO-ORDINATION: David, Silke; Hansen, Maj-Britt Risbjerg

IT & WEB MANAGEMENT: Voigt, Matthias

LIBRARY AND EDITORIAL SERVICES: McKinney, William; Ward, Matthew

#### Research and Project staff

SOUTH EAST EUROPE: Schenker, Harald; Schupp, Robert; Blacklock, Denika

EASTERN EUROPE: Protsyk, Oleh; Rigamonti, Valentina

SOUTH CAUCASUS: Trier, Tom (ECMI Georgia )

INSTITUTION BUILDING – OMBUDMAN NETWORK: Lloyd, Marnie

EU ACCESSION: Decker, Chris; Jones, Nick (Romania); Kouneva, Magdalena (ECMI Bulgaria); Armstrong, Michelle

LEGAL SERVICES: Moucheboeuf, Alcidia; Leung, Heu Yee

EU PROGRAMME: Malloy, Tove

ROMA INCLUSION: Friedman, Eben (ECMI Skopje)

JANITOR: Mathea, Michael

## REGIONAL OFFICE STAFF

### Regional Office Georgia

Tom Trier	Regional Representative
John Wright	Political Adviser
Andrey Khanzhin	MT Project Coordinator
Gagi Pasurashvili	Senior Program Officer
Tea Putkaradze	Head of Administration
Eliso Buskadze	Accountant
George Sordia	Research Officer
Marina Kazaryan	Translator/Interpreter
Laliko Kharabadze	Project Assistant
Nino Vadakaria	Intern
David Lalishvili	Driver

### Field Office Akhalkalaki

Kristof Lubowiecki	Community Mobilizer
Seda Melkumian	Project Assistant
Armen Amirkhanyan	Project Consultant
Rafik Abadjan	Driver

### Regional Office Macedonia

Eben Friedman	Regional Representative
Jasmina Ristić	Office/Finance Manager
Gordana Rodić	Programme Manager
Verica Grdanoska	Outreach Manager
Ibrahim Ibrahim	Project Manager
Sait Demir	Project Assistant

### Regional Office Pristina

Adrian Zeqiri	Regional Representative
Mentor Rexhapi	Programme Assistant

### **Regional office Belgrade**

Nataša Markova	Project Manager Serbia
Jelena Sekluić	Office/Finance Manager
Slavica Lola Vasić	Project Coordinator
Igor Kostić	Project Coordinator
Dragana Paspalj	Webmaster and Network Administrator Serbia
Eben Friedman	Regional Representative (based in Skopje)

### **Regional Office Sofia**

Magdalena Kouneva	Project Manager
Katerina Velcihkova	Senior Expert
Vijdan Ahmed Milanova	Office Assistant

### **Regional Office Bucharest**

Roxana Ossian	Project Assistant
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### **NON-RESIDENT SENIOR RESEARCH ASSOCIATES**

- Dr. François Grin (Switzerland), Faculté des sciences économiques et sociales, Université de Genève, Switzerland (Non-resident Senior Research Fellow)
- Dr. Kinga Gál (Hungary), Chief Advisor to the President of the Academy of Sciences, Budapest, Hungary
- Dr. Fernand de Varennes (Canada), Senior Lecturer, Murdoch University of Law, Perth, Australia
- Dr. Florian Bieber (Luxembourg)
- Dr. Stefan Wolff (Germany/UK), Reader, University of Bath, United Kingdom
- Dr. Kristin Henrard (Belgium)
- Farimah Daftary (France/USA)
- Robert Dunbar (Canada/UK), Senior Lecturer, Faculty of Law, University of Glasgow, United Kingdom
- Dr. Jonathan Wheatley (UK), Research Associate, Osteuropa Institut, Free University of Berlin, Germany



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Jean Monnet Professor, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social  
Sciences, University of Copenhagen
  6. Professor Dr Dr Rainer Hofmann  
Professor für Öffentliches Recht, Völker- und Europarecht  
Johann-Wolfgang Goethe Universität, Frankfurt/M.
  7. Marc Scheuer  
Director of Political Advice and Co-operation, Council of Europe  
Council of Europe
  8. Dr Wolfgang Wodarg MdB  
Member of the German Bundestag
  9. Dr. Detlev Rein  
Substitute for Dr. Wodarg
- Ms. Caroline Schwarz (incoming)  
Beauftragte für Minderheiten und Kultur des Ministerpräsidenten des Landes  
Schleswig-Holstein

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2. Ms Alyson J. K. Bailes, (Chairwoman) , Director SIPRI Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
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6. Professor Will Kymlicka, Department of Philosophy, Queen's University, UK
7. Professor André Liebich, Institut Universitaire des Hautes Études Internationales
8. Professor Brendan O'Leary, Department of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania
9. Mr. Alan Phillips, former UK Independent Expert on Advisory Committee of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities
10. Professor Allan Rosas, Court of Justice of the European Communities
11. Professor Wojciech Sadurski, Head, Department of Law, European University Institute
12. Professor Patrick Thornberry, School and Department of Law, International Relations, Keele University, UK
13. Professor Stefan Troebst, Kulturstudien Ostmitteleuropas Universität Leipzig GWZO
14. H. E. Amb. Max van der Stoep, former OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities







